THE INDIAN ORAL TRADITION:

A MODEL FOR TEACHERS

A Thesis

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study was to provide a model for teachers for the use of the oral tradition of the Indian in local history courses.

The study was based on two basic premises: that the Indian side of history is neglected in Canadian history books and school textbooks and that the Indian oral tradition is as valid an historical source as the traditional documentary evidence.

The Frog Lake Massacre, an incident during the Riel Rebellion in which eight white residents of Frog Lake were killed by some of the followers of Big Bear's band, was chosen to demonstrate this model. The Indian story of the Frog Lake Massacre has not been told in history books. Thus, it was proposed that the oral tradition for this event be traced, recorded and preserved for this study.

Since the people involved in the Frog Lake Massacre fled from the area at the time of the troubles, three areas were chosen where it was suggested that there might be descendants of the people from the Frog Lake area. These were: Onion Lake Reserve and Poundmaker Reserve in Saskatchewan and Rocky Boy Reservation in Montana.

The selection of the Elders who could provide the information was left to the director of the Saskatchewan Indian Cultural Centre, Smith Atimoyoo, and the Chippewa-Cree Research team at Rocky Boy. These people have been involved in cultural retention programmes and have familiarity with the various Elders and their expertise. For the purpose of this study, one Elder was chosen from each area -- Mrs. PeeMee (Poundmaker), Mr. Four Souls (Rocky Boy), Mr. Francis Harper (Onion Lake).

After the initial contact was made through the intermediaries, the researcher was introduced and the intent of the research explained, a time and place was arranged for the taping of the tradition.

In preparation for the interviews, an extensive study was made of the literature on the oral tradition and in particular the oral tradition of the Cree. Further consultations with Smith Atimoyoo provided invaluable information on the position of the Elders and how someone should approach them when requesting their help.

Four Souls was taped in his home by members of the Chippewa-Cree Research team, Mrs. PeeMee was interviewed in the home of her grandson in Saskatoon. Mr. Francis Harper was recorded in a field near his grandson's farm on Onion Lake Reserve.

A search of the literature revealed very little work on the collection and preservation of the oral tradition on Native North Americans. Vansina, working in Africa, examined oral traditions and devised certain criteria for testing their validity as historical sources.

The collected stories met the criteria for reliability -- the right of the person to tell that story.

In applying Vansina's criteria -- the characteristics of the historian himself i.e. who he was, his acculturation level, reaction to the researcher; characteristics of the tradition i.e. origin, type and transmission; the cultural environment i.e. cultural value of the tradition, purpose and function; mnemonic devices -- it was revealed that each historian fulfilled the criteria in a similar fashion. The only difference appeared in the purpose for telling the story. The more traditional Mrs. PeeMee told her account simply to remember and let her grand-daughter relive it with her. Francis Harper and Four Souls

expressed a desire to right some of the stories which they had heard and considered untrue.

The study revealed that there is a Cree oral tradition concerning the Frog Lake Massacre. Three people from three separate areas covering over 500 miles gave essentially the same story with only differences in emphasis and perspective. Each account must be considered as a unique historical document for this event. Thus, the study showed there was an Indian oral tradition alive in Saskatchewan which is accessible and can be validated as historical evidence within its own frame of reference.

Suggestions were made for ways in which teachers could utilize this untapped resource without exploiting it.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

To the many people who helped me in any way, my sincere thanks: the Elders who had faith in me, to Smith who supported me, to Audie who reassured me, to Art who stuck with me, to John who challenged me, to my friends who put up with me, to Beryl who endured me, to Cecil who strengthened me and to my folks who consoled me.

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Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

The Canadian academic historians have failed. They have failed to do in-depth research and earnest scholarship into the Indian's place in the history of North America. They have failed to provide the raw material for writers of textbooks, children's literature, and comic books, to present a fair, balanced view of the Indian's past. They have failed to furnish the facts to refute the stereotypes perpetuated by inaccurate, incomplete and at times even false information.

Many studies in recent years have examined the representation of the Indian in all forms of literature, in particular, social studies textbooks. Their findings have shown that the major problem with these materials is the error of omission. That is to say, Indians are not necessarily presented in a derogatory way (although this is the case in certain instances) but often they are not mentioned at all. As James Walker states in his study of the textbooks used on the Canadian History courses at the undergraduate level in Canadian universities,

> The picture of the Indian as a human being that is presented by writers of Canadian history is often confusing, contradictory, and incomplete. Clearly he is not considered to be deserving of serious attention or his society of scholarly analysis.[1]

The Royal Commission of Bilingualism and Biculturalism summed up the position of the Canadian Indian in one short statement:

> (The Indians) disappear from history with the Conquest, may

[1] James Walker, "The Indian in Canadian Historical Writing," in Canadian Historical Association Annual Report, 1971, pp. 21-22.

> reappear fleetingly beside Louis Riel and then are forgotten once more.[2]

Textbook writers, in particular, put the onus on the professional historian and blame him for the dearth of raw data on the Indian's past. Therefore, the textbook writers are forced to rely on the anthropological analyses of the past, and fall heir to the criticism of presenting Indian societies as "museum cultures" when they deign to include Indian content.

Most of the studies of recent years have made a plea for more comprehensive and balanced research. However, over forty years ago the same plea was made in an address to the Mayor and people of Chicago on December 1, 1927, by the Grand Council Fire of American Indians. They stated succintly,

> The Indian has long been hurt by these unfair books. We ask only that our story be told in fairness. We do not ask that you overlook what we did, but we do ask you to understand it. We ask this, Chief, to keep sacred the memory of our people.[3]

Everyone suffers from the perpetuation of this information gap. The lack of a balanced perspective, especially in history books, tends not only to sustain, but, to strengthen the existing stereotypes and patterns of racial discrimination.[4] The non-white reader is made to feel inferior while the notion of superiority is reinforced in the white reader. Thus, the educational system fails in one of its underlying goals

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[2] Report on the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, Vol. 2, Education (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1968), p. 279.

[3] Rupert Costo, ed., Textbooks and the American Indian (San Francisco: American Indian Historical Society, 1970), p. 2.

[4] Jerome Alvin Hammersmith, "The Indian in Saskatchewan Elementary Social Studies Textbooks: A Content Analysis" (unpublished M. Ed. thesis, University of Saskatchewan, 1971), p. 25.

of opening paths to understanding one's self and others.

With the contribution of his people to the history of this continent neglected or misinterpreted in his school experience, the Indian child gets no sense of historical racial pride or basis for his own personal identity. On the contrary, he is sometimes made ashamed of his heritage. John Bryde maintains that an awareness of historical origins is necessary for orientation to any kind of future action.[5] Thus, the Indian child must be taught a solid, clear history of his race to be able to face the future with confidence.

Brewton Berry describes the Indian child in school as one who generally is characterized by "alienation, hopelessness, powerlessness, rejection, depression, anxiety, estrangement and frustration."[6] The Indian child's problem of identity and the inferiority are, according to Berry, the result of what the white man really thinks of him. "It is apparent from the literature that the degree of prejudice and discrimination directed toward Indians varies from place to place, but is present everywhere."[7]

Prejudice often is a result of ignorance and therefore white people need to know more of the Indians.

Educators have a responsibility to see that materials reflect the realities of Indian-White relationships to help the white child also to

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[5]John Bryde, New Approach to Indian Education, 1967 (Pine Ridge, South Dakota: Holy Rosary Mission, 1967), p. 12.

[6]Brewton Berry, The Education of the American Indians: A Survey of the Literature (Washington, D.C.: U. S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, 1968), p. 93.

[7]Ibid., p. 95.

see the real world. As Abraham Citron points out, the white child is brought up in a "white cocoon" where everything he sees and hears reinforces the feeling of the 'rightness of whiteness'. The world he lives in has white people in positions of power and authority, white symbols of goodness in religion (sin is black, virtue is white), in the movies (the 'good guys' wear white hats), and all his heroes are white. All major sources of his impressions reinforce each other and lead him to feel that whiteness, the way he is, is natural and standard. This makes him handicapped in meeting and dealing with people different from himself and also makes him insensitive to the basic realities in the multiethnic world.[8]

As was forcefully pointed out at the World Food Conference in Rome earlier this year, Western Caucasian countries can no longer blithely ignore the poorer, hungry nations of the world. Natural white supremacy in a world where white people are a minority is no longer a viable philosophy. Inter-racial and intercultural co-operation must be learned and this training must begin with the various cultural groups within this country. The training must take place in all areas of society but especially in the schools.

Surely, in a time when man's very existence on this planet is threatened by worldwide crop failure, massive starvation, and creeping contamination of the environment, it is imperative that we break down the old stereotypes and barriers which have separated us from our fellowmen. Educators should be striving to inculate such intangible values as

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[8]Abraham F. Citron, "The Rightness of Whiteness," Teaching the Language Arts to Culturally Different Children, eds. Wm. W. Joyce and James A. Banks (Reading, Mass.: Addison-Wesley Publishing Co., 1971), p. 20.

sensitivity to other people, openness to differences amongst individuals, and perceptivity to see things from another's point of view without imposing one's own value system.

In a time when the talents of all Earth's residents are needed to combat pressing world problems, too many individuals and groups view each other with fear, distrust and hatred. Generally, these feelings are irrational and based on stereotypes formed early in one's life. Too often, the information that one group has of the other is distorted, incomplete or lacking entirely. This is what has happened in Saskatchewan as in other parts of North America between the Indian and non-Indian peoples.

Stereotypes exist here in Saskatchewan. They interfere in the relationships between members of the two races, in all spheres of life--school, business, etc. with discrimination occurring on both sides. It is difficult to dispel the distrust of generations, but it is imperative that the cycle not be allowed to continue.

Up until the present decade, the written histories of the world, Canada and the local area have supported a world in which white men were dominant and white values supreme. As Nancy Larrick, former president of the International Reading Association, states,

> ....most of the books children see are all white....There is no need to elaborate on the damage -- much of it irreparable -- to the minority child's personality. But the impact of all-white books on white children is even worse. Although his white skin makes him one of the world's minorities, the white child learns from his books that he is kingfish.[9]

Teachers are caught in the middle of a dilemna when presenting their students with the tools to meet the problems of the real world. Although conscientious teachers want to convey a balanced view in their

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[9]Citron, p. 11.

courses, they are severely handicapped in portraying Indian culture, history and current affairs by a lack of information and material. New methodologies -- the discovery method, the inquiry method, etc. -- are being adopted by curriculum designers, particularly in social studies. These techniques can make the learning process a much more successful experience for the student. However, the effectiveness of the teaching methodology depends on the calibre of the teaching materials that are available. The meat and bones of the course still is the content. The methodology is dependent on that content. Hence, the teacher is faced with having the tools to present a stimulating, well-organized, thought-provoking lesson or unit on Indians but cannot obtain materials to give it substance. The teacher has in the past depended on the professional. However, the obvious failure of the academics to do the necessary job has led to comments such as the following,

> The truth is that many historians and educators have to be shaken out of academic amnesia and cultural narrowmindedness.[10]

It is imperative that historians and other academics give serious attention to the place of the Canadian Indian in the history of Canada. New sources culled from the wealth of Indian knowledge and wisdom of the past must be accumulated and added to the sources kept by the white population. New analyses by both Indians and non-Indians must be encouraged to deepen the accurate understanding of the history of this country. The comment of Francis Paul Prucha in his introduction to The Indian in American History seems very apt.

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[10]David C. Bolin, "North America: The Blind Spot in History," Random, (November, 1969), p. 6.

> Divergent viewpoints and challenging historical interpretations will sharpen our appreciation of the complexities of Indian-White relations and will, hopefully, bring us the wisdom we need to answer the questions (raised by these complexities) in a spirit of sympathy and justice.[11]

However, since the awakening of the academic community may not take place in the foreseeable future, and there is an immediate need for the incorporation of Indian data into the school programmes, perhaps individual teachers and concerned Indian people must take the initiative. Thus, this thesis will attempt to present a model for teachers who wish to augment their courses with the inclusion of the Indian perspective.

Statement of the Problem

To present a model for teachers for the use of the Indian tradition in their history courses.

To achieve this model, one incident -- the Frog Lake Massacre -- will be studied. A method for collecting the data will be presented, a method for weighing the stories as historical evidence will be discussed, and suggestions for incorporating this evidence into the school's curriculum will be advanced.

Delimitations

The incident to be researched has been referred to as "The Frog Lake Massacre." Frog Lake, a small Hudson's Bay trading post in the North West Territories (later to be part of Alberta), was the scene of the killing of eight white people by members of an Indian band on April 2, 1885. This marked the beginning of Indian involvement in the North West

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[11] Francis Paul Prucha, The Indian in American History (New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1971), p. 6.

Rebellion which had erupted in the area some days before with the Battle of Duck Lake between Riel's followers and government troops.

Some of the effects of this incident were far-reaching. The official attitude to the government in Ottawa towards even the Indian leaders who were moderate and known to favour peace was hardened and open conflict between the Indians and the army became almost inevitable, with the breakdown of trust. Many Indians were forced to flee for their lives as far as Montana. The ultimate outcome was the public hanging of eight Indians, the largest mass execution in Canadian history.

The Indian story of this incident has never been told in textbooks. This incident will be used to demonstrate the model.

It is recognized that it is impossible to locate all the sources dealing with any one topic at any one time. Therefore, the search for sources of the Indian oral tradition dealing with the Frog Lake Massacre will be confined to three geographical areas: Onion Lake and Poundmaker Reserves in Saskatchewan and Rocky Boy Reservation in Montana.

This is not an attempt to provide the definitive history of the Frog Lake Massacre nor is it an attempt to provide a prescription for teachers gathering all Indian stories in all areas. It is rather an attempt to provide a model for investigation -- a methodology for teachers to examine, peruse and evaluate in relation to their need to offer the Indian side of the History that they are teaching in their classrooms.

Assumptions

The major assumption of this paper is that the oral tradition of the Indians is as valid a source of historical data as the written sources of the dominant culture. This assumption is based upon a

further assumption that all history is subjective. Therefore, whether the report is passed from hand to hand or from mouth to mouth, the representation of the historical event is altered by the cultural, social, and economic filter of the person transmitting the information. In the words of Hans Meyerhoff:

> The strict presentation of the facts may be the supreme law of historiography as Ranke said; and a historian violates his professional code when he makes a factual error or tells an actual falsehood; but what difference does the presentation make to the facts simon-pure and simple? The facts of history invariably appear in the context of interpretation. There is no narration without interpretation; and there is no interpretation without theory.[12]

Thus, any portrayal of past events is influenced by the retelling.

Furthermore, historians cannot study the past directly because it is gone. Therefore, they must accept the representations of these events which they term 'historical facts'. However, historical facts only become historical facts, according to Carl Becker, when they exist in someone's mind. Many historians would scoff and say that historical facts are in records, diaries, journals, documents, etc. Further, they would say that the written word doesn't lie. But, as Becker states, records are merely 'inky patterns' on a page until someone forms in their mind an image similar to the one of the person who recorded the event. However, if there is no one to interpret the 'inky patterns', the historical fact is lost to the world. To quote Becker again,

> For this reason, I say that historical fact is in someone's mind, or it is nowhere, because when it is in no one's mind, it lies in the records inert, incapable of making a difference in the world.[13]

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[12]Hans Meyerhoff, The Philosophy of History of Our Times (Garden City, New Jersey: Double Day & Co., Inc., 1959), p. 20.

[13]Carl L. Becker, "What are Historical Facts?," The Philosophy of History of Our Times, ed. Hans Meyerhoff (Garden City, New Jersey: Double Day & Co., Inc., 1959), p. 126.

Thus, the records are only the external world with which the historian works. However, these records are incomplete and imperfect; for, they cannot incorporate all things that happened in relation to a single event in the past. The meaning and significance of the act are judged within the mind and imagination of the historian. Thus, the historical facts are conditioned by the interests, theory, and interpretations of the historian. History, then, is the product of the human mind and is only in the human mind.

If actual events only become historical facts when they are subjected to the imagination of an individual, the tyranny of the written word can be challenged in historiography. Historiography, itself, can be said to be the history of history or, in other words, what successive generations have imagined the past to be like.[14] This definition allows for the validity of oral as well as written sources. Historical facts are preserved in the mind or, they are not considered historical facts. Thence, events kept alive and passed from generation to generation through the oral tradition can more truly be called historical facts than documents that lie molding in archival files.

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[14] Ibid., p. 132.

Chapter 2

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

To understand the need to incorporate the oral tradition of the Indians in the local history courses, it is very important to understand what is taught about Indians in the schools, what the textbooks say, what the professional historians say, and how their philosophy has influenced the neglect of Indian content. This chapter will also examine what oral tradition is and how it has been utilized.

Textbooks and the Presentation of the Indian in the Classroom

Textbooks in Saskatchewan instil and perpetuate prejudice.[15] Of all groups studied, Indians are portrayed in the most negative way. Indians are described as "savage", "hostile", "warlike", "rebellious", and "proud" in instances involving "massacre" and "murder"; and, although words such as "skillful", "beauty" and "friendly" are interspersed, the resultant overall impression is very unfavourable.[16]

Unfortunately, although the new teaching methodologies deemphasize the use of a textbook, most teachers in Saskatchewan do rely on a one book approach.[17] The use of multiple textbooks only exacerbates

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[15] L. Paton and J. Deverell, eds., Prejudice in Social Studies Textbooks: A Content Analysis of Social Studies Textbooks Used in Saskatchewan Schools (Saskatoon: Saskatchewan Human Right Commission, 1974), preface.

[16] Ibid., p. 15.

[17] Ibid., p. 3.

the problem since bias is found in the whole sample of social studies textbooks.

In the country's classrooms, textbooks do possess a certain status and authority. They are imposed either by curriculum decree, circumstances or availability of the book. For this reason it is imperative that textbooks be free of prejudice and bias, according to the Saskatchewan Human Rights Commission study.

Textbooks encourage the "process of falsification."[18] Emma Laroque enumerates the reasons for this condemnation. She maintains that textbooks are unfair in,

> 1) language (past terms like "lurking", "murderous", etc., 2) anachronistic material, 3) the exclusion of parts of Indian history such as the annihilation of the Beothuk, 4) application of a double standard in assessing behavior, 5) superficial or token treatment of the Indian contribution to North American culture, and 6) one-sidedness.[19]

According to Hodgetts[20], textbooks gray out all opposing views and present a bland unrealistic consensus version of our past; a dry-as-dust chronological story of uninterrupted political and economic progress. In such a pageant of the past, the losers have no place.

The conclusion that textbooks are helping to promulgate misunderstanding between Indians and non-Indians is reiterated in the many studies conducted in the past few years across Canada. In 1964, a Committee of Indian and Metis Conference presented these concerns to the

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[18] Costo, p. 1.

[19] Emma LaRoque, Defeathering the Indian (Agincourt, Ontario: The Book Society of Canada Limited, 1975), p. 64.

[20] A. B. Hodgetts, What Culture? What Heritage? (Toronto: Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, 1968), p. 115.

Manitoba Department of Education.[21] In Ontario, three major studies condemned that province's textbooks.[22] Hammersmith revealed the bias of supplemental books recommended for Saskatchewan Social Studies courses.[23] On a national level, distribution of a questionnaire sent by the Department of Indian Affairs to all its teachers for an assessment of textbooks used in teaching Indian children indicated the government's concerns.[24]

The recommendations are consistent: firstly, that it is time to present an accurate, authentic exposure to the past and present of the Indian and Metis people; secondly, that there be a balanced view of the history of Indian-white relationships; thirdly, that actions of Indians be judged by standards that are relevant to the Indians -- not by the imposition of European standards or the standards of the 20th Century; fourthly, that the original sources be critically analyzed to prevent the transference of negative, disparaging commentary from another generation to today's school children; and lastly, that the dehumanization of the Indian be stopped by breaking out of hackneyed expressions and

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[21]Garnet McDiarmid and David Pratt, Teaching Prejudice (Toronto: Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, 1971), p. 23.

[22]See Macdiarmid, pp. 23-4; Sluman's study of Grade 7 and 8 textbooks on Canadian History in Ontario in 1967; Rosamond Vanderburgh, ed., The Canadian Indian in Ontario School Texts (Port Credit, Ontario: University Women's Club, 1968); McDiarmid and Pratt, Teaching Prejudice.

[23]Hammersmith, p. 25.

[24]Canada, Department of Indian Affairs, "Report on Textbooks," (Ottawa, n.d.), circulated February, 1969.

stereo-typical descriptions.[25]

Many of the books examined by the Saskatchewan Human Rights Commission are suggested for use only with a great deal of supplemental material. Conscientious teachers will need to search for materials which are not plagued by the bias and prejudice of textbooks. Where can they turn? The teachers will naturally turn to the professional for their direction, particularly to the historian.

The Indian in North American History

However, historians themselves are accused of the very things for which textbooks are condemned -- enthnocentrism, uncritical use of sources, promulgation of outmoded attitudes, language, and stereotypes as well as maintaining a philosophy and methodology which excludes the use of traditional Indian sources.

According to Walker, Indians only enter the historians' story of Canada "when they intrude on the white man's story"[26] and the narrative

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[25]for similar studies in the U.S. see Chris C. Cavender, An Unbalanced Perspective: Two Minnesota Textbooks Examined by an American Indian (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota, Training Center for Community Programs, 1971); Rupert Costo, ed., Textbooks and the American Indian (San Francisco: Indian Historical Press, 1970); Estelle Fuchs, Curriculum for American Indian Youth; The National Study of American Indian Education IV, No. 4, Final Report (Chicago: University of Illinois, 1970); Jeannette Henry, "Our Inaccurate Textbooks," The Indian Historian, Vol. 1, No. 1 (1967) pp. 21-4; V. J. Vogel, "The Indian in American History Books," Integrated Education, Vol. 6, No. 3 (1968), pp. 16-32; Mildred H. Wilson, "A Comparative Evaluation of the Material on the American Indian as Presented in Current High School American History Textbooks," (Master's thesis, South Dakota, Northern State College, 1966).

[26]James Walker, p. 30.

is unravelled in terms of "white subjects" and "red objects."[27]

Ironically, the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism declares that,despite the fact that Indians are ignored throughout Canadian history,except for brief appearances prior to the Conquest and during Riel's Rebellion, they receive more attention than any ethnic group other than the French and English.[28] The initial description of Indians comes "in the introduction or in the section on geography, squeezed in between the Flora and Fauna or the Land and Lattitude"[29] as part of the backdrop for the European drama.

In the introduction to his new book, A History of the Original Peoples of Northern Canada, Keith Crowe states,

> For four centuries foreign people have encroached upon the ancient territories of Indians and Inuit. The uneven balance of power is reflected in written histories that ignore or undervalue the pre-European period, the native side of trade and exploration and the part played by individual native men and women.[30]

So, the writers' ethnocentrism is displayed in the limited coverage of Indian life except in relation to the European experience. It seems in many accounts that history only began with the arrival of the white man. As well, Indian actions are judged by European standards. Even the terminology used implies a hierarchy of superior-inferior societies.

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[27] Ibid., p. 29.

[28] Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, Vol. 2, Education (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1968), pp. 279-282.

[29] Walker, P. 27.

[30] Keith Crowe, A History of the Original Peoples of Northern Canada (Montreal: Arctic Institute, McGill and Queen's Press, 1974), preface.

The Christian Leader, in an article titled "The Other Side," contends that the height of ethnocentrism is expressed by calling someone "primitive."[31] Primitive is a favourite descriptive term for Indian society in most history books. Such terms as "barbaric," "uncivilized," and recently the more subtle expressions, "under developed" and "culturally deprived," indicate that the author is setting his own society as a measuring stick for civilization.[32]

The Grand Council Fire of American Indians, in an address to the Mayor and people of Chicago, December 1, 1927, poignantly questioned the double standard for judging behaviour,

> History books teach that Indians were murderers -- is it murder to fight in self-defense? Indians killed white men because white men took their lands, ruined their hunting grounds, burned their forests, destroyed their buffalo. White men penned our people on reservations. White men who rise to protect their property are called patriots -- Indians who do the same are called murderers.[33]

White Canadians have come to accept as factual the myths and images of Indians from the past. Images which dominated the attitudes of the Europeans in the 17th and 18th Centuries still haunt Canadian history books.[34] As James Walker has pointed out, today's writers use the same original sources from the writings of Europeans.[35] Perhaps it

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[31] The Christian Leader, "The Other Side," July 10, 1973.

[32] Laroque, p. 50.

[33] Costo, p. 2.

[34] Howard Adams, "The First Canadians: A History of Colonization," (unpublished paper, University of Saskatchewan, 1973), p. 7.

[35] Walker, p. 31.

is time to examine these sources in view of the images that they present.

The major source on initial Indian-White relationship is the Jesuit Relations. The Jesuit missionaries' voluminous detailed accounts have consistently been the most widely accepted authority on the 16th and 17th centuries. The Jesuit mandate was to Christianize and civilize the Indians and to establish the Catholic Church and French nation as powers within New France.[36] The Jesuits, naturally, judged Indian life by Christian values and the lifestyles of the France of their day. The following is an excerpt from a letter of instruction to prospective religious recruits of 1637 and illustrates the typical commentary

> ... leaving a highly civilized community, you fall into the hands of barbarous people who care but little for your Philoso- or your Theology. All the fine qualities which might make you loved and respected in France are like pearls trampled under the feet of swine, or rather mules, which utterly despise you when they see you are not as good pack animals as they are. If you could go naked, and carry the load of a horse upon your back, you would be wise according to their doctrine, and would be recognized as a great man, otherwise not.[37]

This demonstrates forcefully the evaluative quality imbued in the Jesuit descriptions.

A second primary source consists of the records, diaries, etc. of early explorers and travellers. These people had two motives: survival and profit. They praised the natives who co-operated in helping in achievement of either of these goals. Thus, these reports must be critically analyzed with regard to their worth in describing faithfully

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[35] S. R. Mealing, The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents: A Selection (Toronto: McClelland & Steward Ltd., 1963), pp. viii-ix.

[37] Ibid., p. 50.

the native life and character.[38]

Two other original sources are commonly used. Both were written by lay people for a wide reading public. The first type was supposedly authentic reports of people living with the natives with accurate descriptions of "life as it is". John Long, for example, writing in 1791, describes in vivid detail the art of scalping. "Scalping is a mode of torture peculiar to the Indians,"[39] he begins. Such statements and his subsequent exposé have been repeated to exhibit the atrocities perpetuated by the early Indians and to this day, historians attribute scalping to the North American Indians. It is an accepted fact among anthropologists that there is no archaeological evidence to support this theory.[40] There is, however, evidence that it existed in Europe. Herodotus described scalping among the Scythians; it has been noted among the Siberians (Ostyaks, Samoyeds, and Voguls), among the ancient Persians and the Gauls.[41]

There are documents such as the 1755 Proclamation in Boston to show that scalping was instigated by colonial governments to encourage "the pursuing, captivating, killing and destroying" of Indians.[42] Such

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[38]Walker, p. 32.

[39]John Long, Voyages and Travels of an Indian Interpreter and Trader (London: J. Long, 1791), p. 22.

[40]Dr. Zenon Pohorecky, in conversation, May 27, 1975.

[41]Encyclopedia Americana, "Scalping," p. 349.

[42]Vine Deloria Jr., Custer Died for Your Sins (London: Collier-MacMillan Ltd., 1969), p. 6.

facts are available but the image of the bloodthirsty scalping Indian is still repeated. The image of "The Cruel Savage" immortalized by repeated tales of scalping, torture, etc. in books, movies, texts, etc. is a good example of a myth which has become accepted as a fact in the European mind.

The late 19th century saw the emergence of the fourth major source. This will be called the revisionist school. These writers had the following motivation:

> I found that many of the books written were of a sensational character and at once determined to try to write something that would be reliable and at the same time interesting to all.... I hope that readers of these pages will have their ideas changed, as mine have been, by coming into closer contact with the Red Men, through their language, literature, native religion, folk-lore and later Christian life.[43]

Many such books appeared, lauding the Indian traditions and way of life and idealizing their value system. Such books fostered the ideas of the Noble Savage -- the strong, wise, quiet nature-lover.

Thus, an examination of the original sources which historians are wont to use, shows that three basic Indians emerge -- the "good Indian" (he who is co-operative in the attainment of the writer's goals), "the cruel Indian" or the "savage" and the "Noble Savage". Through the uncritical use of these same primary documents, present-day historians are propagating these same stereotypes.

Even the terminology is repeated. Walker reveals that "savage" is the designation applied most frequently as a synonym for Indian.[44]

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[43]John McLean, Canadian Savage Folk (Toronto: Wm. Briggs Co., 1896), p. 363.

[44]Walker, p. 22.

The list of current historians who use the term includes: W. J. Eccles, D. G. Creighton, Gustave Lanctot, A. R. M. Lower, Grant MacEwan, W. S. MacNutt, Edgar McInnis, A. S. Morton, George Stanley, Marcel Trudel and G. Wrong.[45] Almost all prominent Canadian historians are on this list.

Historians use almost an identical set of descriptive adjectives to that of the textbook writers. In the vivid prose of the "Savage" vignette, he is "cruel", "treacherous", "bloodthirsty", "dirty", "lazy", "cowardly", "barbaric", "fiendish", "credulous", "grotesque", "superstitious", "gluttonous", and "fickle" in descending order of their popularity among writers.[46]

For the "Noble Savage" there is a shorter but hackneyed list of complimentary words -- "brave", "hospitable", "happy", "devoted", "faithful", "dignified" and "intelligent". He may even be described as a "bronzed stalwart" or "copper-hued patriot".[47]

According to Emma LaRoque, even today most people see Indians as extensions of these traditional stereotypes although the terminology may be "Ecologist" for "Noble Savage" and "Angry Militant" for "Cruel Savage", still there remains the "Good Indian" who lives up to white expectations. These stereotypes dehumanize Indians. People fail to look beyond them to the many facets of Indian life.[48]

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[45] Ibid., p. 41.

[46] Ibid., p. 22.

[47] Ibid., p. 22.

[48] LaRoque, p. 33.

A noted historian, E. H. Carr, has postulated:

> The dead hand of vanished generations of historical scribes and chroniclers has determined beyond the possibility of appeal the pattern of the past.[49]

Mark Bloch refers to this uncritical acceptance of former scholars "facts as facts" as "incurable sclerosis,"[50] and he maintains that "this represents a peril more deadly than either ignorance or inaccuracy."[51] Cochran accuses historians of succumbing to "the tyranny of persuasive rhetoric," asserting that historians fail to challenge the great masses of traditional literature with rigid analysis and accept the written record when it is clothed in systematic documentation.[52]

The Historian's Philosophy and Methodology

Perhaps these failings of the historian result from the way in which conventional historians define the parameters of their discipline. History is defined as:

> 1) the systematic study of or a treatise dealing with natural phenomena - as in natural "history"
> 2) the past of mankind (or any part thereof) as in "history as actuality"
> 3) the survivals or records (whether primary or secondary) of the past of mankind as in "recorded history"
> 4) the study, representation and explanation of the past of

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[49] E. H. Carr, What is History? (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1962), p. 14.

[50] Mark Bloch, The Historian's Craft (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1953), p. 62.

[51] Ibid., p. 48.

[52] Thomas C. Cochran, "History and the Social Sciences," The Varieties of History, ed. Fritz Stern (Cleveland: The World Publishing Co., 1966), pp. 347-359.

mankind from the survivals and records....as in "written history"
5) the branch of knowledge that records, studies, represents and explains the past of mankind....as in "department of history".[53]

Most traditional historians prefer to define "history" as the past which produced written records and the study of the past of non-literate societies through the documents of societies which came in contact with them. Hence, until very recent times, this has led to a concentration on Western cultures and the great Oriental civilization, and, the view of these countries towards non-literate societies. The historian's selection and arrangement of pertinent facts relating to non-literate societies, for example Native North Americans, has been predetermined by the bias of the original documents of his society as well as his own use of implicit culturally-determined generalizations and theories about classificatory categories and causal relations.[54]

The lack of documents within non-literate societies has led to these cultures,lacking in the written word,being considered without "history". Furthermore, the study of the period preceding a written tradition is called "prehistory". Thus, conventional historians are not philosophically prepared to place Indian "history" on equal terms with the history of the dominant society gleaned from the available documents.

In his methodology, there is only scant chance that the historian will gain any knowledge of the Indian side of the story. But most traditional historians concur with L. G. Thomas when he states, "We know

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[53]Social Science Research Council, "Excerpts from Theory and Practice in Historical Study: A Report of the Committee on Historiography," (New York: Social Science Research Council, 1946), p. 1.

[54]Wm. G. Sturtevant, "Anthropology, History and Ethnohistory," Ethnohistory, 13-14 (1966-67), p. 11.

pitifully little of the Indian, though here we must look to the archaeologist and the anthropologist for assistance."[55] The task is seen to be beyond the confines of the discipline of history.

Historians work with documents. This is the central tenet of the traditional historical method. E. H. Carr has questioned the restrictions imposed by the dependence on documentation. He states:

> No document can tell us more than what the author of the document thought - what he thought had happened, what he thought ought to happen or would happen or perhaps only what he wanted others to think he thought or even only what he thought he thought.[56]

This is especially perilous when the documents from one culture are describing another culture. The historian's value system determines the criteria for relevance and credibility. Hence, documents left by foreigners are often scanty and biased. The assumption is made by the foreigner that his values and categorization and organization of society applies to the native community as well and this is reflected in the documents. Thus, those documents which do exist concerned with the native people must be viewed with some skepticism as to how closely they reflect the native's story. For example, most of the documents available dealing with the natives of the Northwest Territories are contained in the government documents. The first difficulty with government documents is that their use gives the false impression of the course of action being determined by the government.[57] The native people are pictured in their place in the overall picture of the Canadian government's

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[55]L. G. Thomas, "Historiography of the Fur Trade Era," A Region of the Mind, ed. Richard Allen (Regina: University of Saskatchewan, 1973), pp. 73-87.

[56]Carr, p. 16.

[57]Cochran, p. 351.

ambition (a mari usque ad mare) (from sea to sea). No where in the documents is the whiteman's steady advance westward watched through the eyes of the native people.[58]

Since the documentary sources are limited, it is difficult for new scholars to break with the established patterns of the past set by former historians using the only documents available. According to Goody and Watt, there are inherent dangers in the written tradition. Words take on an objective reality. There is a danger of using abstract words without any agreement on the usage or an understanding of the underlying principles. The written word suggests an immutability and permanence not realistic in the flow of ideas.[59] The fact that something is written down in the society gives it a credence far beyond the spoken word. Thus, with the dependence on documentation within the written tradition, there is almost something sacred about the "truths" written in the original documents and by past historians.

Although historians constantly formulate new hypotheses, generate new theories, and challenge existing data with unique analyses, they often fall into the trap of repeating set phrases about certain groups or particular periods without checking their truth in a systematic fashion or even expending much energy on what they might mean.[60] Hence, the prejudices and misconceptions of the past are transmitted through the

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[58]Richard Whittemore, "The Heroes of Defeat: Biography and American Indian History," Social Education, 36, No. 5 (1972), 521.

[59]Jack Goody and Ian Watt, "The Consequences of Literacy," Comparative Studies in Society and History, Vol. 5 (1963), p. 330.

[60]Kitson G. Clark, The Making of Victorian England (London: Metheren, 1966), p. 4.

written word to the next generation. These views are then carried into the classroom and imposed through the "tyranny of the textbook."

In response to the historians' claim that they have no material to work from, the study Textbooks and the American Indian stated:

> Oddly enough, there is an enormous quantity of authentic source material. No people have been so researched, investigated, and examined from every aspect of their culture and lifeways as have the Indians. Yet few if any textbook writers take advantage of these sources nor is there any evidence that they have studied them or are even familiar with them.[61]

Further, Francis Paul Prucha comments that although there is a notable body of materials dealing with the Indian side of the story -- anthropological, ethnological, ethnohistorical studies amassed by academics and personal recollections, etc. collected by Indian groups -- these resources have not yet been exploited by historians.[62]

The conventional historians are tenaciously clinging to their philosophical bias towards documents. Meanwhile a new discipline called ethnohistory is arising in an attempt to study the past as seen by non-literate societies and this is opening the door for the use of new sources, for example, the Indian oral tradition to help balance the view to the past.

The Oral Tradition

According to Goody and Watt, in non-literate societies,

> ...the whole content of the social tradition apart from material inheritances, is held in memory....What the individual remembers tends to be what is of crucial importance in his experience of the main social relationships. In each generation, therefore, the individual memory will mediate the cultural heritage in such a way that its new constituents will adjust to the

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[61] Costo, p. 9.

[62] Prucha, p. 1.

> old by the process of interpretation that Bartlett calls "rationalizing" or the "effort after meaning"; and whatever parts of it have ceased to be of contemporary relevance are likely to be eliminated by the process of forgetting.[63]

It is obvious the reader will note this explanation of the oral tradition in non-literate societies contains the same elements as the definition of history did; namely, the past is relevant in terms of the present and interpreted by the relater.

> Where there is no written language, anything which must be remembered must be said.[64]

Historians have consistently rejected the use of the oral tradition as legitimate history. However, since there is an obvious need for new sources of evidence, it seems reasonable to consider these oral sources.

Dewey included in his interpretation of historical evidence "data are such things as records and documents, legends and stories orally transmitted."[65]

Fustel de Coulanges has said,

> Wherever man has lived, wherever he has left some feeble imprint of his life and his intelligence, there is history.[66]

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[63] Goody and Watt, p. 307.

[64] Margaret Craven, I Heard the Owl Call My Name (New York: Dell Publishing Co., 1973), p. 28.

[65] John Dewey, "Historical Judgements" (an extract from his 'Logic: The Theory of Inquiry'), The Philosophy of History of Our Time, ed. Hans Meyeroff (Garden City, New Jersey: Doubleday & Co., Inc., 1959), p. 163.

[66] Fustel de Coulanges, "The Ethos of a Scientific Historian," The Varieties of History, Fritz Stern ed. (Cleveland: The World Pub. Co. Ltd., 1966), p. 181.

As has been stated above, there is a tyranny of the written word among historians. Few recognize it as clearly as Pirenne who states:

> Written documents of all the sources of history are at once the most valuable and the most fallacious.[67]

Furthermore, as has been evident in the treatment of the Indians in Canadian history, the written word has suggested an immutable permanence to expressions and ideas forwarded by past historians.

It has been stated that oral testimony contains inaccuracies but this is not different from written evidence which is constantly being revised and rewritten with the gathering of new facts, the application of new theories, or in the search for a new pattern of history. However, it is because of the lack of this necessary revision that the need for new evidence vis a vis Indian-white relations is acknowledged.

Although oral history may contain inaccurate accounts, the way in which a society's members remember its past is more important than what actually happened.[68]

History is in the head, according to Beard,

> It is history as thought, not as actuality, record, or specific knowledge that is used in its widest and most general significance.[69]

It is interesting to note that amateurs coming to this continent

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[67]Henri Pirenne, "What are Historians Trying To Do?," The Philosophy of History in Our Time, ed. Hans Meyeroff (Garden City, New Jersey: Doubleday & Co., Ltd., 1959), p. 90.

[68]Dalton R. Cox,"The Methodology Utilized to Study the Education of the Mississippi Choctaws: 1834-1920," p. 7. (Mimeographed.)

[69]Charles Beard, "Written History as an Act of Faith," The Philosophy of History of our Time, ed. Hans Meyeroff (Garden City, New Jersey: Doubleday & Co., Ltd., 1959), p. 140.

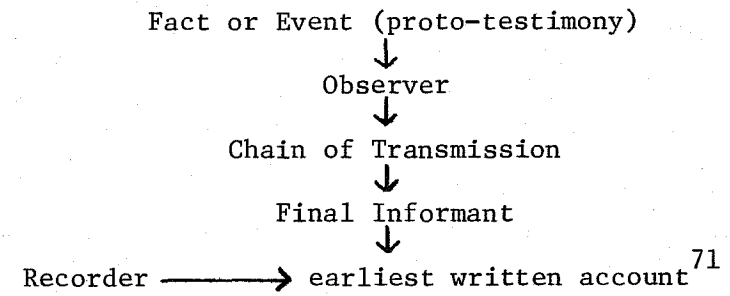
were only concerned with gathering information and reconstructed the people's past from what they were told.

> It may be said that the first historical writings based on oral tradition all date from the time when the first European explorers arrived upon the scene and very nearly all that we know today about the early history of these pre-literate peoples is due to such amateur history.[70]

It was only with the arrival of professional historians with theories that disagreed with what the oral tradition stated that the tradition fell into disrepute. And since Indian fortunes were viewed only with regard to white fortunes, the Indian oral tradition soon was regarded as unsubstantiative by the white historians. Why not? The oral tradition did not support their theories.

It is true that the intent of oral transmissions may not be for historical importance but any traditions relating information from the past may be considered historical sources.

Vansina has visualized an oral tradition in the following way:



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This represents, in fact, a series of historial documents -- i.e. verbal reports. These are historical sources of a special nature -- unwritten sources couched in a form suitable for oral transmission and

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[70] H. M. Wright, trans., Oral Traditions: A Study in Historical Methodology by Jans Vansina (Chicago: Aldine Pub. Co., 1965), p. 7.

[71] Ibid., p. 21.

their preservation depends on the powers of observation of the original observer and the powers of memory of the successive generations.

It is of the utmost importance to a society that certain events be remembered. As Goody and Watt point out, the process of forgetting is also functional in a pre-literate society allowing for extraneous events to be lost to the collective memory of the society.[72] Thus, those things that are remembered are important to that society. The perception of the past is in terms of the present.

Certain groups of people have become specialized in retaining the memory of their people. The Plains Cree had a respect for the stories of their tribal history and Edward Ahenakew has described how their heritage was preserved:

> ....it was the Old Men who were qualified to speak, for they had passed through most of the experiences of life and their own youthful fires were burned out. They would speak as fathers of the race having tasted all that was of Indian life, its bitter and its good; they would speak with authority, for they knew all that they needed to know; and they used this privilege wisely, knowing their responsibility and the need that they filled in Indian life.[73]

The Old Men have been in Edward Ahenakew's words, the historians, legal advisors, inspirational leaders and moral teachers.[74] Their genius was displayed in the narration of past events. They hoarded significant stories in their minds, unchanging, kept in tact, entrusted to them through the years by one generation to the next. They dared not lie for they were aware of the need to guard the position of authentic story-

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[72] Goody and Watt, p. 307.

[73] Edward Ahenakew, Voices of the Plains Cree, ed. Ruth M. Buck (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1973), pp. 24-5.

[74] Ibid., p. 24.

teller and dared not incur the ridicule of the community for lapse of memory. Their veracity was unimpeachable. With the need for the past to be remembered, with the role of the Old Men institutionalized and respected, the Old Men were authentic repositories for the annals of the people, worthy media through whom the folklore of previous generations could be transmitted.[75] The Old Men are what Goody and Watt would term as professional rememberers.

The question of validity of oral tales when compared to documentary evidence of the dominant culture seems to be a non-question; for, it is not "the historical truth" per se which would be of the greatest importance but rather how the historical truth is perceived by the cultural group. It doesn't matter whether the event, in fact, happened in one way or the other but the group reacts to its present situation as a result of how it perceives its past. Thus, the concern is with the past as seen by the Indians for it is through this that the Indians are reacting. If there is a common view of the past, it is an important aspect of their world view and will affect their intergroup relations. All history is subjective and human nature being what it is, often, the past is coloured to satisfy needs whether of self-aggrandisement or xenophobia. Thus, the documents of the white world written from a certain point of view and from a particular perch in historical time will be as close or far from the "historical truth" as the Kih cā ci mo wi na related from another point of view and another tree-top. Thus, the story as Indians perceived it must be placed beside the "truth" as the whites saw it.

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[75] Ibid., p. 24.

The position of the Old Men was institutionalized among the Plains Cree. They were responsible for the promulgation of the messages of cultural importance. The Old Men were endowed with sagaciousness, great observational powers and vivid memories. According to Sturtevant,

> In ordinary situations, one should be able to recover relatively reliable information going back at least two long lifetimes: aged informants with good memories and an interest in the past may well remember in considerable detail reminiscences heard in their youth from elderly people with similar talents.[76]

As well, the Cree society contained many mnemonic devices to aid in the retention of the valuable cultural material. These included things connected with certain places, or buildings, geographical or geological formations, objects handed down from generation to generation such as pieces of clothing, medicine bundles, songs, parfleche designs, etc.

There are other safeguards imposed by the society for the undistorted retention of their heritage. Tales must be prefaced by the acknowledgement of the sources from which the teller received the stories. If the listeners are satisfied with the reliability of the sources, the tales will be accepted; if not, they will not be included or remembered. Thus, not only the informant but his informers are traced for their accountability.

The communication is face to face. There is not the impersonality of the printed word. The text may be varied when appropriate to to clarify the meaning. There is an activity -- a process happening between the hearer and the speaker. This creates a unification, a strengthening of the cultural traditions by bringing individuals into

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[76]Sturtevant, p. 30.

the groups and encouraging full participation in the total cultural tradition. It engenders a simple cohesive view of the world; for, all the cultural heritage, the standardized ways of acting and patterns of thought and feelings are transmitted by interpersonal interaction, imitation and verbalization. Thus, the oral method itself creates a society which through its closeness and unity serves to protect the oral traditions.

Western society, whose historians deny the authority of other societies' oral traditions, preserve knowledge in written form. However, strangely enough, in passing on the important "cultural and societal truths," the task is left to the family where all instruction is done orally. Parents do not refer their children to Emily Post when training table manners during dinner.

As the societal mores link western children to the heritage of the past, the timelessness of their culture, the oral traditions of the Indians link the Indian child closely to the past. The intimacy of the telling makes the past and present meld. Thus, the identity with the past is absolute and the past is an integral part of the present. This can serve to explain the theory of the immutability of the treaties for the Indians identify with the treaty signers in a way that the politicians never could identify with John A. Macdonald; for John A. Macdonald is an objective reality in a history book for most Canadians whereas Poundmaker, Little Pine and Poor Man have been internalized by every Indian who has heard their stories.

The past is real and present for the Indians. There is no question of its desecration for to do that is to desecrate a part of themselves. Wilfred Pelletier has expressed it this way, "For every North

American Indian who begins to disappear, I also begin to disappear."[77]

Oral Tradition as a Source

The use of the oral tradition as a source is not a new idea. The most familiar book to use it is the Bible![78] Socrates wrestled with the conflicts of values between oral and written sources.[79] Herodotus, the espoused 'Father of History', used oral sources in History of the Persian Wars.[80]

The recent uses of the oral tradition in European countries stretches as far back as 1555 in Sweden when Archbishop Olaus Magnus recorded aspects of peasant life, relating both orally transmitted and recorded data.[81] The collection continued and was given serious consideration as a scientific study by Linnaeus (1707-78). The accumulated work resulted in the creation of the finest folk museum in the world in Stockholm.[82]

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[77]Wilfred Pelletier, For Every North American Indian who Begins to Disappear, I Also Begin to Disappear (Toronto: Neewin Publishing Co., Ltd., 1971).

[78]Solomon Gandz, "Oral Tradition in the Bible," Jewish Studies in Memory of George A. Kohut, eds. Solomon W. Baron and Alexander Marx (New York: 1935), p. 269.

[79]Goody and Watt, p.

[80]Susan L. Pales, "Oral History: A Proposal for an Expanded Project at Brigham Young University" (unpublished Master's thesis, Brigham Young University, 1973), p. 7.

[81]E. J. Lindgren, "The Collection and Analysis of Folk Lore," The Study of Society: Methods and Problems (London: Kegan, Paul, French, Lurbner Co., Ltd., 1939), p. 330.

[82]Ibid., p. 331.

Studies of the same type were undertaken in Germany, Scandinavia, England, Italy, Estonia, Greece, Russia, Asia Minor, Iran, Tibet, China, and in Ireland, Scotland and Wales. The Irish storytellers were famed for "their repertoires of 200-300 tales which held their audiences entranced."[83]

Initially, folk tales in all countries were just collected and recorded. Perrault in his 1679 "Contes de Ma Mere Loye" touted these stories as having literary worth comparable to the Greek and Roman classics. However, later they became embellished as by the Grimm Brothers, 1812, and sold to entertain.

By the late 19th century, collecting no longer sufficed. Classification systems were devised and analysis and interpretation became of foremost importance. There was an attempt to fit the tales into a logical structure. The Finnish school under J. Kohn sought to trace the course of an original ballad. Through thorough painstaking analysis of all versions, these researchers theorized about principles of folk-lore origin and history.[84]

The American anthropologists who worked with North American Indians fell into two schools, either Malinowski's functionalist research or Boas' comparative method. Both these men felt that the oral tradition could be used as historical evidence.[85] According to Boas, "....(oral)

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[83]Ibid., p. 335.

[84]Ibid., p. 340.

[85]Ibid., pp. 347-49.

data in a way is an autobiography of the tribe."[86]

Tylor, the father of modern anthropology, based much of his work on the oral tales he collected.[87]

The question of the validity of oral sources in Native North American studies came to the fore in an exchange among scholars in the journal The American Anthropologist, 17, 1915.[88] In reply to an article by Drs. Swanton and Dixon in 1914 entitled "Primitive American History"[89] in which the authors used oral sources, Robert H. Lowie challenged the academic establishment by stating, "I cannot attach to oral traditions any historical value whatsoever under any conditions whatsoever." Responding to the challenge, scholars began enunciating their personal opinions on the validity and reliability of oral evidence.[90]

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[86] Ibid., p. 347.

[87] Edward Tylor, Primitive Cultures (New York: Harper Bros., 1889), pp. 78-282.

[88] Robert H. Lowrie,"Oral Tradition and History," American Anthropologist, 17 (1915), pp. 597-599

[89] R. B. Dixon and John R. Swanton, "Primitive American History," American Anthropologist, 16 (1915), pp. 599-600.

[90] for example, Robert H. Lowrie,"Oral Tradition and History," Journal of American Folk-Lore, XXX, No. CXVI (April-June, 1917), pp. 161-167; A. A. Goldenweiser, "The Heuristic Value of Traditional Records," American Anthropologist, 17 (1915), pp. 763-4; E. Goldfrank, "Isleta Variants: A Study in Flexibility," Journal of American Folk-Lore, 39 (1926), pp. 70-78; David M. Pendergast and Clement W. Meighan, "Folk Tradition as Historical Fact," Journal of American Folk-Lore, 72 (1959); Edward Sapir, "Time Perspective in Aboriginal American Culture," Selected Writings of Edward Sapir in Language, Culture and Personality, ed. David Mandelbaum (Berkley, 1949), pp. 389-462; David Bidney, "Myth, Symbolism and Truth," Journal of American Folklore, 68 (1955), pp. 379-392; Bernard Fontana, "American Indian Oral History: An Anthropologist's Note," History and Theory, 8 (1969), pp. 366-70; Ruth Finnegan, "A Note on Oral Tradition and Historical Evidence," History and Theory, 9 (1970), pp. 195-201.

The debate has continued to the present day with new schools of thought and terminologies emerging as a result. The terms have changed from "popular antiquities," to "folk-lore," "folk-history" to "ethno-history" but the controversy has remained. However, Wm. C. Sturtevant has stated:

> Nowadays one rarely meets the old uncritical disavowals of any evidential value of oral tradition or the opposite naive belief in its literal and complete historical validity.[91]

Ethnohistorians are attempting to combine tradition and documents where the two points of view together can give a more rounded picture of historical events.[92] As yet, however, the conventional Canadian historians have not followed these ethnohistorians in their use of the oral tradition.

The serious methodological research into the use of the oral tradition as an historical source has been done in other countries. Foremost among these is the study of Vansina.[93] Vansina's theory is that oral traditions are historical sources of a special nature. He deals with the characteristics of oral tradition, especially the transmission by word of mouth, the relations between each successive testimony and the tradition itself. He analyzes the characteristic features, the form, and content of the testimony. Next he enumerates various ways in which error or deliberate falsification may occur in testimony. Next, he goes

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[91] Sturtevant, p. 26.

[92] Ibid., p. 31.

[93] Wright.

on to an examination of how testimonies originate and how the amount of weight to be attached to any one testimony may be established by comparing it with others. Finally, he discusses historical information that can be obtained from oral tradition with the aid of auxiliary source material.[94]

Vansina emphasizes the need for thorough knowledge of the culture studied. It is necessary to understand the nature of the tradition itself. Its cultural values, societal functions, its form, content, literal and in depth interpretation purport societal controls on the transmissions of traditions and memory devices to aid in retention of the memory. It is also important to establish sources of the tradition, the identity and authenticity of the informant -- his position and authority in the society, his stage of acculturation and personal qualities.[95] Hence, he supports the opinion that the oral traditions are important in their reflection of the society from which they spring and not as judged by external values.

Examples of the Use of Oral Sources

A rare example of use of the oral tradition in Saskatchewan history is found in the History of the Metis Nation in Western Canada[96] written by Auguste de Tremaudan. The unusual history of the Riel Rebellions of 1870 and 1885 from the Metis point of view was compiled from

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[94]Ibid., pp. 1-2.

[95]Ibid.

[96]Eugenie Thomas, trans., History of the Metis Nation in Western Canada by Auguste Henri de Tremaudan (Ottawa: Library of Parliament, December 11, 1970).

reminiscences and eye-witness reports collected by teams of interviewers from participants during the period 1909-1921. The resulting document is intriguing when read beside the histories written by the winning side.

A more recent Canadian example is the classroom textbook for northern students written by Keith J. Crowe. A History of the Original Peoples of Northern Canada presents a balanced view of the history of the north, incorporating the oral traditions with the documentary and written reports.

Similarly, Nicholas J. Gubser based his account of the Nunamuit Eskimos on primary and secondary written documents and oral statements by contemporary Eskimos and whites. For the section of Nunamuit history, Gubser depends entirely on the past as the Nunamuit recorded from their oral traditions. He uses the Nunamuit's categories of historical time, their distinction between true and imaginary stories and accepts their standard of credibility. He finds that these vary markedly from the history according to the white population.[97]

Charles M. Hudson has used the comparative approach in his book, The Catawba Nation, in which he investigates the written history of the Catawba Indians, Catawba history as remembered by the non-Indians, and the Catawba history as remembered by the Catawba Indians.[98]

Dalton R. Cox has followed the methodological approaches of Hudson in his study of the education of the Mississippi Choctaw, 1834-1920. He

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[97]Nicholas J. Gubser, The Nunamuit Eskimos: Hunters of Caribou (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1965).

[98]Charles Hudson, The Catawba Nation (Athens, Georgia: University of Georgia Press, 1970).

uses oral history of both Choctaw and non-Choctaw above the age of sixty who can remember the lifestyle of the Choctaw Indians in Mississippi before 1920, to supplement the written sources. Furthermore, he makes comparisons between the two when there are dissimilarities in the versions.[99]

The above examples show a few of the attempts to present a balanced historical view by combining the oral and written traditions. Further, in presenting this kind of evidence, it becomes evident that not only is the perspective altered, but so is the emphasis, time scale, concept of historical truth and the idea of historical importance.

Another area where the use of the oral tradition has proven important is in what has been termed "upstreaming." This technique involves the implementation of ethnographic data on a modern culture to criticize and reinterpret old accounts of its ancestral culture.[100] One historian has referred to a curious book by Andrew Welch ("A Narrative of the Early Days and Remembrances of Oceola Nikkanochee, Prince of Econchatti, A Young Seminole Indian"....London, 1841) as a fabrication of fiction rather than a presentation of fact.[101] However, a description of an ancient "old-man dance" given by modern Seminole informants proves that the account is true and is the only published explanation of this obsolete Seminole ceremony.[102]

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[99]Cox, passism, pp. 1-5.

[100]Sturtevant, p. 14.

[101]Mark F. Boyd, "Asi-yaholo or Osceola," Florida Historical Quarterley, 33, No. 304 (1955), pp. 249-305.

[102]Sturtevant, p. 14.

Such revision is being undertaken by Indian groups involved in education across North America. In Rocky Boy Reservation, school personnel are upstreaming the date line that has been taught in the school based on the anthropological and historical data. By including such information as the Cree creation myth and migration tales and other oral data with significant dates after the contact period, the researchers are devising a time chart unique to that band.

In actuality, the oral tradition has received much more attention in other parts of the world. In Africa, for instance, new emergent nations are rewriting their history from oral sources, as they have in the past suffered under the history written from a colonial power's perspective. These new histories serve to unify and strengthen their new national identity.[103]

The oral tradition has been recognized as a valuable source. There is a wealth of information which could reveal aspects of this country's past which have never been tapped. Many people have a story to tell and are just waiting to be asked.

This is not to suggest that teachers and students should rush, tape recorder in hand, to the nearest reserve. But, rather, teachers should recognize the one-sidedness of the history as traditionally taught, recognize that there is another side, acknowledge that the Indians themselves are the only ones who have that knowledge, and foster a respect for a people who treasure their past in their memories and live true to their faith in the value of that past. Then and only then, sincerely

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[103]Hudson, p. 62.

desiring to broaden understanding, the teachers should humbly ask to share that past.

Chapter 3

METHODS AND PROCEDURES

This chapter contains a description of the procedures used in this study. A section is devoted to the locating of the sources of the oral tradition of the Frog Lake Massacre, another to making preparations for the interviews, a third with the interviews themselves, and a fourth part deals with a description of ways of testing the oral data as historical evidence.

Sources of the Tradition

The Indian Cultural College has for some years been involved in working with Elders throughout the province of Saskatchewan in a program of cultural retention. The Elders are recognized as those knowledgeable on the traditional culture and life style. Therefore, the Cultural Centre has been charged with the responsibility of bringing the Elders from various reserves together for informal gatherings to talk about the past and present as they see it. These conversations are taped and preserved by the Cultural Centre staff. Thus, it was through the auspices of Smith Atimoyoo, the co-ordinator of the Saskatchewan Indian Cultural Centre, that the Elders were chosen for this study. Mr. Atimoyoo suggested Mrs. Joe PeeMee from Poundmaker Reserve and Francis Harper from Onion Lake as people who knew the story of Frog Lake intimately. He also suggested that some people from Rocky Boy Reservation in Montana were descendants of Big Bear's band and could provide the Indian story.

At Rocky Boy, the Chippewa-Cree Research team, under the director Harold Gray, identified Four Souls as the Elder to consult.

The assistance and co-operation of the Indian Cultural Centre as well as the Chippewa-Cree Research team was essential for the successful completion of this research. Since the oral traditions have in the past been ignored and even ridiculed by white people and since these traditions are precious to the Indian people, there was no desire to intrude on these personal recollections without the full knowledge and consent of the Elders. Thus, since the Elders are not fluent in English, Cree intermediaries were used to introduce the researcher and explain the research thoroughly in Cree. What the researcher was trying to do, what would be done with the material which was given and why the researcher should be trusted were discussed with the Elder. The Elder was then able to decide whether he or she desired to help.

Preparation for the Interviews

In preparation for the interviews, a study was made of the oral traditions of the Cree. It was found that there is no Cree equivalent for "oral tradition" or even the term "history." In the review it was pointed out the "the past" is regarded in its relation to "the present" and not as an objective reality as the term "history" denotes in English.

In Cree there are many terms basically translated as "story" in English. According to Stan Cuthand, Cree scholar, professor in Native Studies Department of the University of Manitoba, Winnipeg, the term Kih cā ci mo wi na is used when referring to the stories of the battles between the Cree and the Blackfoot. This would be literally translated as "Great Stories." These are tales of factual happenings of the past

of great import to the society.[104]

Ida McLeod[105], co-ordinator for the Cree Language Program under the Saskatchewan Indian Cultural College, suggests the term Kay a sa ci mo win which is used in stories which actually happened as contrasted to legends which are recognized as being more symbolic than factual. In other words, legends are more akin to "literature" than "history" as the distinction is made in English. The teller of the Kay as sa ci mo win is referred to as ot at a ci now. The Kay a sa ci mo win and Kih cā ci mo wina both fall within what would be referred to as the oral tradition of the Cree since the oral tradition comprises all verbal testimonies which are reported statements concerning the past, depending on memory for their retention.[106]

A study of the position of the oral tradition in the Cree community revealed that these stories were guarded tenaciously with trustworthiness and veracity by the Elders. This was recognized by all those in the community.

Since these stories were told to instruct the young people and to remind the group members of the past, the stories were not told just on a whim. Rather, they were told in a relaxed atmosphere at the Elder's own pace while the listeners assumed respectful silence.

Thus, a similar climate was sought for the interview. A time was sought when the Elder would be feeling at his or her best and in a place

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[104]Stan Cuthand, in conversation, May 19, 1975.

[105]Ida McLeod, in conversation, July 10, 1975.

[106]Wright, p. 19.

where he or she would be at ease.

Four Souls was interviewed in English in his home by members of the Chippewa-Cree Research team who had interviewed him on other occasions.

Mrs. PeeMee and Mr. Francis Harper were interviewed in Cree. Mrs. PeeMee was interviewed at the home of her grandson in Saskatoon. Mr. Francis Harper was interviewed in a field near his home on the Onion Lake Reserve.

An introductory visit was made with the Elders prior to the taping session so that they could get to know the researcher informally and would be able to have time to think about what they wanted to say.

Mr. Atimoyoo discussed thoroughly with the researcher the manner in which the interview should be conducted. He emphasized the fact that the interviewer should be prepared to listen. He stressed the fact that the interviewer should not appear in a hurry nor ask questions or interrupt the Elder once the story had begun but rather the Elder should be allowed to tell the story in its natural quiet way. The researcher should wait until the story has ended and the Elder has indicated that he is completely finished before asking any questions.

He explained that the tape-recorder has been found by the Cultural Centre to be an ideal instrument for the preservation of the oral traditions. It allows for the uninterrupted delivery of the stories with the exact wording, timing and rhythm of the speaker. The tape-recorder, however, should only be used with the knowledge and consent of the Elder.[107]

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[107]Smith Atimoyoo, in conversation, May 30, 1975.

Interviews Themselves

The interviews of Four Souls at Rocky Boy Reservation, Box Elder, Montana were conducted through the auspices of the Chippewa-Cree Research team. This team and other teachers and workers at the Rocky Boy School used the interview technique very extensively in bringing legends, migration stories and the history of the band into the school curriculum. The interviews were conducted in English by the researchers in Four Souls' home.

Four Souls was very relaxed with the tape recorder and related the story as he had many times before.

Mr. Francis Harper was interviewed in a field on his grandson's farm. Although he has a good command of English, he desired to tell his story in Cree. He was completely at ease with the tape recorder and appeared to enjoy the experience.

Mrs. PeeMee was visited in the home of her grandson in Saskatoon. She expressed the wish that the same story that she had had in Maclean's Magazine be used for she felt another translator would reinterpret her words. Thus, in her home, she only elaborated on points brought out in her story as translated by Maria Campbell this summer. She felt she had told the story as she wanted it told. She desired her grand-daughter to be present to hear the story.

The translation of the tape was considered of utmost importance since the tape and transcription represent a new historical document. It was, thus, important to include all the information necessary to make it of value to subsequent researchers.

The transcription of Four Souls' tape was completed by the Chippewa-Cree Research team who were familiar with his frame of reference.

The translation and transcription of Francis Harper's story was made by Ken O'Kanee of Thunderchild Reserve.

Philip Curtin has emphasized that the original tape must be annotated since it must be useful outside the context of its creation.[109] Thus, in the translation, all unfamiliar place names and surnames were spelled out to avoid confusion on the part of the listener. An attempt was made by the translator to explain in full things unfamiliar outside the culture. These comments were interspersed throughout the text as they were needed.

Cree is replete with rich, sustained metaphors, complex stereotypes, vivid poetic allusions and within the speech of the Elders, there are some anachronistic expressions not common in present day conversational Cree. Thus, all the necessary elaborations and explanations were included on the transcriptions.

> For, in short, the final document is an annotated historical source complete with the formal apparatus of normal historical scholarship.[110]

Testing the Evidence

Within the Western intellectual tradition, any new piece of evidence's validity must be judged within the standards set by the scholars in that discipline. Oral traditions meet certain criteria as well. However, the same set of standards for testing "historical truth" cannot be used in both cases. To determine the validity as historical sources of

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[109] Philip D. Curtin, "Field Techniques for Collecting and Processing Oral Data," Journal of African History, IX (1968), 371.

[110] Ibid., p. 382.

the Cree oral traditions concerning the Frog Lake Massacre, standards appropriate to the Cree oral tradition must be used. From these standards the stories must be judged.

Three separate accounts from three separate sources were recorded and transcribed. The reliability of these accounts was established through the director of the Indian Cultural Centre who being familiar with the different Elder's expertise, selected the three Cree historians.

The reliability of their accounts was based on the individual's historical right to give such an account which is the criteria of proof of historical truth within the Cree culture.

Each of the three separate accounts was accepted as an independent historical document since they met the cultural criteria of what constitutes an historical document -- i.e. the story of a person with the right to tell such a story.

Each account was tested for its validity as a source by the use of the following criteria established originally for the testing of oral traditions as valid historical sources by Vansina.

1. The Historian -- i.e. right to relate the story, acculturation.

2. Cultural environment from which the story arose -- i.e. its cultural value, its function and its purpose.

3. Tradition -- i.e. origin, type, and transmission.

4. Mnemonic devices -- i.e. actual devices for aiding memory.

An elaboration on each of the individual criterion follows.

Historian. The personal characterisitics of the story-teller affect his story. What is his right to tell the story? What is his position in the community? -- e.g. Elder, member of a special group,

member of a particular clan or with particular totem membership.

Secondly, the story-teller's degree of acculturation influences the validity of his oral stories. What influence have written accounts had? What is the education level of the story-teller?

Thirdly, the reaction of the story-teller to the researcher has an effect on the tradition that is told. Was the researcher accepted warmly or with some reservations on the part of the story-teller?

Cultural values. For a tradition to be remembered in a society, that tradition must have a value in that society. The value of the tradition to the society mitigates against the distortion of the memory. Thus, it must be determined how important it is to the Elder that the tradition be preserved. Further, the function of the tradition must be considered -- i.e. Does it serve a religious, historical, political or some other function? Likewise, what is the purpose of the tradition -- to glorify, explain, remember or justify?

Tradition. The characteristics of the tradition itself affect its validity. Firstly, what is its origin? Is it the property of an individual or a particular group in the society -- e.g. a certain medicine society? Is the source identified and credible?

Secondly, what type of tradition is it? Is it a rumour, a commentary, or a tale of didactic, artistic, personal or historic significance?

Thirdly, how is the tradition transmitted? Is it a song? Is it in script? Is it literary? Is it in free form?

Mnemonic devices. The memory is aided by the use of certain actual concrete devices. What devices were used by the historians?

Table 1

Schematic Overview of Vansina's Criteria as Applied to the Oral Tradition of the Frog Lake Massacre

Location	Cultural Environ.	Tradition	Mnemonic Device	Historian
Poundmaker	Cultural Value: Function: Purpose:	Origin: Type: Transmission:		Who: Acculturation: Reaction to Researcher:
Rocky Boy	Cultural Value: Function: Purpose:	Origin: Type: Transmission:		Who: Acculturation: Reaction to Researcher:
Onion Lake	Cultural Value: Function: Purpose:	Origin: Type: Transmission:		Who: Acculturation: Reaction to Researcher:

The three oral traditions on the Frog Lake Massacre (Appendices A, B. and C) were compared and contrasted on these criteria.

Summary

The sources of the oral tradition of the Frog Lake Massacre were identified, located and interviewed. The stories were recorded and transcribed. Each story was then considered as an historical document and tested as such under the submitted criteria. The stories were compared and contrasted.

Chapter 4

PRESENTATION AND DISCUSSION OF RESULTS

This chapter examined the oral traditions collected about the Frog Lake Massacre. Each story was examined for its historical validity by the criteria established for testing the historical validity of oral traditions. The stories were then compared and contrasted on these criteria. The resultant discoveries were discussed in light of their implications.

Reliability

The reliability of the Cree historian is based on his right to tell the story as was stated in chapter 3. All the people in this study fulfilled this requirement.

Four Souls was acknowledged as the authority on the Frog Lake Massacre by the Chippewa-Cree Research team. His grandfather was Big Bear, the Chief of the band of Indians held responsible by the Canadian Government for the Massacre. Little Bear (Imasees), the father of Four Souls, was named as one of the conspirators and fled to Montana after the incident. Four Souls never knew Big Bear but he heard the stories of his grandfather's struggle from his father who lived until 1926. Four Souls had studied the written account of the Rebellion and was asked by the Canadian Federal Government to unveil a plaque in honour of his grandfather at Fort Pitt, July 24, 1973 where he denounced Blood Red the Sun, the book acknowledged by historians as an eye witness account of the

[111] Wm. B. Cameron, Blood Red the Sun (Calgary: Kenway Publishing Co., 1950).

Massacre. At the plaque unveiling, Four Souls referred to this book as "more than half untrue."[112]

Mrs. Mary PeeMee (See-as-cum-ka-poo) is the widow of Horse Child who was the youngest son of Big Bear. Horse Child was a twelve year old boy when the Massacre occurred in 1885. At 88 years of age, Mrs. PeeMee related the details of the time as told to her by Horse Child. Her present house is on the same site as the house that she and Horse Child built when they were first married. The house is in the shadow of Cutknife Hill, another area of fighting during the Rebellion, on Poundmaker Reserve. She is an accepted source of wisdom from the past and traditional skills by the people of Poundmaker community.

Mr. Francis Harper has been a life long resident of the Onion Lake area. His wife was the sister of Mrs. PeeMee. His uncle was one of the scouts for the Federal forces that pursued Big Bear's band. He has been used as a cultural informant by the Saskatchewan Indian Cultural College. He is recognized for his ability to remember all the old songs and ceremonials. He was known as one of the best Cree singers in his younger days, renowned for the vivid memory for a large repetoire of songs. His grandchildren and other community people speak of his great knowledge of traditional ways and his unending supply of stories.

Validity

The validity of the oral traditions concerning the Frog Lake Massacre was tested by Vansina's criteria as described in chapter 3. The results are noted in Table 2.

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[112]Big Bear's Grandson at Plaque Unveiling, The Saskatchewan Indian, August, 1973.

Table 2

Vansina's Criteria as Applied to the Oral Tradition of the Frog Lake Massacre

	Historian	Cultural Environment	Tradition	Mnemonic Devices
Poundmaker	Who: Mrs. Mary PeeMee daughter-in-law of Big Bear. Acculturation: still traditional -- does not speak English Reaction to Researcher: Reserved	Cultural Value: Important for granddaughter to know. Function: Historical Purpose: to remember	Origin: Husband and father-in-law Type: Historical Transmission: free form	Big Bear's necklace Granddaugter's presence
Rocky Boy	Who: Four Souls Acculturation: well educated, in English. Reaction to Researcher: warm, enthusiastic	Cultural Value: Important for youngsters to know story Function: Historical Purpose: to justify and vindicate	Origin: Father Type: Historical Transmission: free form	The book on the Massacre - "Blood Red the Sun" Repetition
Onion Lake	Who: Francis Harper Acculturation: fluent in English but still traditional in life style. Reaction to Researcher: warm, eager	Cultural Value: Important for truth to be told Function: Historical Purpose: to explain and vindicate	Origin: Father, uncle, other area people Type: Historical Transmission: free form	The story was told in the out of doors.

Criterion 1 - The Historian

Each of the three historians fulfilled the qualifications for an historian within his community. Mrs. Mary PeeMee (Poundmaker) was the daughter-in-law of Big Bear. Four Souls (Rocky Boy) was the son of Imasees one of the accused murderers. Francis Harper was the nephew of one of the scouts for the Mounties as well as being married into Big Bear's family.

Mrs. PeeMee was completely traditional, spoke only Cree and was the oldest of the historians. She was reserved and displayed an aura of dignity wrought by her years.

Four Souls (Rocky Boy) was integrated into the ways of contemporary society and related his account totally in English. He was completely relaxed and at east with the researcher.

Francis Harper was fluent in English but still traditional in his lifestyle. His dominant language was Cree and therefore he related his account in his native language. He greeted the researcher warmly and was proud to relate his story.

Criterion 2 - Cultural Environment

All three historians signified that it was important that this story be told. However, the reasons for the telling were varied.

Remembering was for Mrs. PeeMee the essential thing. Remembering the actions, struggles and pains of a man whom she had loved and with whom she had shared these perceptions of the events at Frog Lake which had had a traumatic effect on a twelve-year-old boy devoted to his father, was very difficult with a stranger. Her story was told for her grand-daughter who could truly experience her memory with her in Cree.

The two men rather wanted the history to be told to reveal the "truth" that they felt was lacking in the present interpretations. Four Souls wanted to vindicate his father's and grandfather's names, and to justify the actions of the Indians. Francis Harper wanted to explain the event as he had heard it from his Indian ancestors and felt that this story was true.

In all cases, the function of the tradition was historical and the historians felt it their responsibility to relate this segment of their history.

Criterion 3 - The Tradition

In all cases, the historians identified the origin of their story. Mrs. PeeMee related the tale as her husband Horse Child had told her. Four Souls narrated his father, Imasees' story and Francis Harper spoke of the events as his father, uncle and wife and discussed them with him.

All the stories were of an historical type -- statements of events in the past. They were told in free form i.e. not in a prescribed format.

Criterion 4 - Mnemonic Devices

Mrs. PeeMee considered her grand-daughter's presence a reason for reciting of the tradition and this aided her memory. Four Souls used the book by Cameron, the acknowledged authority of the traditional historians, to help him remember and explain. For Francis Harper, the telling of the story out of doors served to allow him the freedom to relate the tale as he wanted to tell it.

Discussion

Although the stories were from three different people separated by great distances and unfamiliar with each other because of the separation in time and place, there appeared to be one salient quality that each historian wanted the truth to be known.

Since each historian met the criterion for relating the story and since the accounts met the criteria of Vansina for the validity of oral traditions, each account must be accepted as an historical document.

Although there appeared to be different purposes for the relating of the oral tradition and different perspectives, there is a Cree oral tradition about the Frog Lake Massacre. It is accessible. Thus, the opportunity is available for a teacher to obtain the Indian oral tradition by going to the available resource people.

In examining the stories, it was evident that the emphasis was different for each of the story-tellers. Mrs. PeeMee's account was more personal and apparently more painful to relate. Thus, it was shorter and in less detail. Mrs. PeeMee's traditionalism, her closeness to her husband and to the physical reminders of those troubled times -- i.e. Cutknife Hill -- may have kept the pain and sorrow more intimately with her. Therefore, in telling the story, Mrs. PeeMee was concerned that her grandchild be present for it was difficult to reveal the depths of her feelings to a stranger, especially one obviously outside her cultural background.

Four Souls and Francis Harper were both open and anxious to talk to the researcher. Their purpose in relating the story was different and the researcher presented the opportunity for them to explain their stories to the audience they wished to address.

Both Francis Harper and Four Souls were farther removed from the personal impact of the Frog Lake Massacre than Mrs. PeeMee was. Francis Harper was related to people involved in the event but not directly involved -- i.e. the accused murderers. His story is less personal and less emotional than Mrs. PeeMee's and told as if seen by an interested bystander but not a participant.

Four Souls as well related his story to explain the Cree side of the story to an outsider. Although his father was one of the accused murderers, Four Souls did not speak from the same emotional depth of Mrs. PeeMee. This may be explained by the fact that Imasees, Four Souls' father, moved to the United States and established a new life for himself. His children were born in Montana and the shame and condemnation did not follow them. Little Bear did not retreat and live under the stigma of being an accused murderer in his homeland but became a powerful leader for his people in Montana. Thus, Four Souls heard the story of events that had happened in a faraway land and which did not affect his life or his father's life at Rocky Boy. Thus, Four Souls told his story to vindicate his father but he did not tell it with the acute personal hurt of Mrs. PeeMee.

The above distinctions between the response of Mrs. PeeMee and Four Souls and Francis Harper may indicate that despite the assumption that the oral tradition would be most vivid among those closely associated with the event, it is more difficult for a non-Indian to discover this oral tradition. It may be in fact unfair to put such a person as Mrs. PeeMee in the position of having to reveal or even remember intimate occurrences for the benefit of the general public.

Another possible reason for the difference between Mrs. PeeMee's

story and the other two is that she is totally traditional, living within a Cree frame of reference. She may have been afraid of misinterpretation or total lack of understanding by a non-Indian researcher. This probably indicates that Cree informants and interpreters are not sufficient for acquiring the oral tradition from a traditional Cree person. It may indicate that the researcher must be accepted as from within the Cree world view as well.

Summary

The reliability of the sources of the oral tradition of the Frog Lake Massacre was tested by the criterion of the right of that person to speak. All the story-tellers were reliable on this standard.

Vansina's criteria for the validity of oral traditions were applied to the three stories of the Frog Lake Massacre. It was found that in three separate communities there are people recognized as authentic oral historians. It was found that there was a Cree oral tradition of the Frog Lake Massacre in each of these locations.

Further, it was discovered that all the stories were considered important to be retained for the local group. The historians all felt a responsibility to relate these stories. They were all told in free form and preserved by individuals.

The origin of the tradition was always explained within the text and each individual story-teller had some mnemonic device to assist in remembering.

Each story flowed with its own internal rhythm and logic. Within both the stories of Francis Harper and Foul Souls, the historians chose to point out where their stories differed from those of the

accepted non-Indian authorities and gave their reasons for these discrepancies. Mrs. PeeMee chose only to relate her story without reference to other interpretations.

It can be seen that the oral traditions meet the criteria for oral traditions and have a consistency which indicates the possibility of a Cree oral tradition. Each story can be accepted as an independent historical source without applying standards of judgment created for written evidence.

Chapter 5

RECOMMENDATIONS AND CONCLUSIONS

Chapter 5 contains a brief reiteration of the formulation of the model for the use of the oral tradition in local history courses, some ramifications of the study and finally, a list of specific recommendations for action based on the results of the study.

Summary

To present a model for the use of oral tradition in local history courses, the following steps were taken:

1. The Frog Lake Massacre was chosen as a subject for revealing the Indian story.

2. The Indian Cultural College was contacted for help in locating Elders who could relate this story.

3. (a) A careful study was made of oral traditions, their character, safeguards, and tests of validity and reliability.

(b) A careful study was made of the Cree oral tradition and the position of the Elders within Cree culture.

4. Preparations were made for the interviews through consultations with members of the Indian Cultural Centre and the Chippewa-Cree Research team.

5. The interviews themselves were conducted in the preferred language in appropriate surroundings.

6. The tapes were made as complete annotated documents.

7. The translations provided pertinent cultural insights as oral footnotes.

8. The stories were compared and contrasted on criteria relevant to oral traditions.

To conclude the presentation of the model for the use of the oral tradition in local history courses, it is necessary to present some concrete suggestions for the teacher for incorporating the oral data into the curriculum. The following areas suggest themselves: historiography, research methodology, ethnohistorical reconstruction, upstreaming, the examinations of values, and the inculcation of affective qualities such as fairness, perceptivity, cross-cultural understanding etc.

1. Historiography: The teacher could use the stories to demonstrate lessons in historiography. He could begin with the question "What is historical truth?" Through using various documents and the oral stories, the effect of the point of view of the author on the way historical truth is portrayed can be demonstrated. It may be emphasized that the greater the number of points of view presented and the greater the knowledge of a situation from different perspectives, the closer is the approximation of the truth. Or in the words of Pirenne, "The more accounts of historical events, the more reality is revealed. All contribute to the advancement of knowledge."[113]

In showing the accounts of the Elders along with the documentary evidence, students will see that there are many ways to look at an historical event.

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[113]Pirenne, p. 98.

2. Research Methodology: Recognizing the need for a more balanced view of historical events, the teacher may encourage students to create their own primary sources by conducting their own research. For those who do their own research, not only will they acquire research skills, but they can become really involved in their own learning. They can learn the ethical questions involved in doing research -- having integrity, respecting a person's privacy, being humble and honest and trustworthy. According to Harry Kursh, a teacher at Lakeland Middle School near Peekskill, New York, the recording of reminiscences of Harlem residents by young interviewers from grade 7 and 8 turned the boredom of history into a new and meaningful delight.[114]

Furthermore, the skills and techniques acquired by the expert oral history interviewer are in many ways the same skills and techniques that educators try to develop in students in a less direct way. The new emphasis in social studies involves confronting first hand evidence from the past, assessing it, relating it to other evidence and trying to reconcile varying interpretations. These are all involved in collecting the oral traditions. However, the added dimension of a different culture increases the learning derived from the experience. The student needs to be prepared for the interview. Thus, he must become knowledgeable of not only the background facts and the history of the period but the characteristics of the Indian culture as well. He must be discriminating in his questions and considerate in his handling of the interview itself. Then, the interviewer must test the evidence for veracity against the

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[114]Wm. W. Cutler III, "Oral History -- Its Nature and Uses for Educational History," History of Education Quarterly, Summer 1971, p. 191.

appropriate challenge to evidence for that culture. The student involved in such a process would not only acquire research methodology and inquiry techniques but would be introduced to looking at experiences through the eyes of another cultural group.

Thus, through the involvement of many amateur historians in local areas across the province, as was the case in 1955 when local history gained a spurt from the anniversary of Saskatchewan, a comprehensive balanced history of Saskatchewan will be created. Teachers and students will create their own primary sources and avoid the trap of the single view of their textbooks.

3. Ethnohistorical Reconstruction: The collection of Indian accounts can reveal the Indian community as an entity which created its own historical progression outside of the orbit of white civilization.[115] Accepting this premise, the teachers and students together can attempt to reconstruct historical situations from the Indian historical perspective.[116]

The oral narrative depicts certain events and handles history as a fluid process. The Indian child, hearing these accounts in his home, is tied into this particular flow of the evolving culture. He becomes imbued with a set of traditions from his culture, which he absorbs with a compulsion to pass on. In collecting and studying the historical accounts of the Indians, recognition is given to the unique Indian

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[115]Edward A. Lukes, "Ethno-History of Indians of the U.S.," The Indian Historian, 5 (1972), p. 23.

[116]John Rennardh White, "An Experiment with Time," The Indian Historian, 5 (1972), p. 36.

evolution and recognition is given to the Indian child who legitimately lives within it; for, the child's orientation to life is within this framework which goes far beyond the particular spot in time and place that he happens to occupy.

Thus, as in the case of the Frog Lake Massacre and other situations where the Indian's actions have been observed in relation to the historical progression of the non-Indian, with the oral traditions the events can be viewed in the context of the Indian historical progression.

A properly balanced ethno-history program would allow an opportunity for interested students to experience and understand better not only the traditional Indian-White relationship but Indian inter-tribal relations as well. As pointed out in the stories of the Frog Lake Massacre, various groups were involved in Big Bear's band, references are made to the differences as well as their unity of purpose against the European forces.

4. Upstreaming: Upstreaming is the critical reinterpretation of accepted facts from documentary evidence by the inclusion of other new information. The process is complementary to the process of ethnohistoric reconstruction. Assumptions about an event or aspect of a modern culture can be challenged when viewed in the context of auxiliary sources. For example, in one written account of the Frog Lake Massacre, the author purported that the conflict arose from a family dispute between Wandering Spirit and his brother-in-law Thomas Quinn. His interpretation was based on the assumption that there was an animosity between Wandering Spirit and Quinn because Wandering Spirit did not approve of his sister's marriage to the agent. This whole theory was shattered in a brief conversation with Mrs. Corcoran of Rocky Boy Reservation, the

grand-daughter of Mrs. Quinn. There was no family relationship between Thomas Quinn and Wandering Spirit. This historian's interpretation was formulated on a false assumption. Correcting such fallacies is the job of upstreaming.

5. Values: In examining varying interpretations of the same event, the opportunity will arise for the teacher to introduce the study of values. For, with each conflicting account, the question "Why?" will be raised by the students. The answer to the question "Why?" will involve a searching for what constitutes historical importance and thus, what is considered of value. Thus, the question of values and value systems may be broached through the use of the oral tradition in the classroom.

6. Affective Qualities: In examining the value system of various peoples, the students included, students will learn to look beyond the surface of issues and withhold judgement on the actions of others. When seeing a statement such as "At Frog Lake on April 2, 1885, eight white people were murdered by a band of hostile Indians," they will not jump to the conclusion that all Indians are murderers and hostile but will search for the details of the Indian explanation. They will, then, weigh the evidence on both sides of an issue before formulating an opinion on it.

The interaction involved in collecting the oral traditions will provide students and teachers the opportunity to become familiar with a reserve community, its people and their ideas. This should lead to cross-cultural co-operation, openness to others' opinions and values.

General Conclusions

The purpose of this study was to establish a model for teachers for the use of the Indian oral tradition in the schools. This was the study of the evolution of a process from the germination of an idea which might or might not have oral data about it to the development of suggestions for teachers on the use of such data in the classroom. Through many false starts and shifts of gears, the process slowly developed. Sources of the oral tradition were found. The successful evolution of this process depended on a network of intermediaries who trusted the researcher and were sympathetic with the goals of the research. However, it would seem appropriate to put some precautionary notes at this point.

The study of the oral tradition of the Indians and working with the Elders is a very delicate proposition. At each stage of such a process as described in this study is the need for respect, honesty and integrity. This study could be deemed a failure if all it does is inspire teachers to entice Elders to present the Indian story and then, continue the history course in the same old way. If it encourages the use of the Elders for any reason other than the honest, enquiring for understanding, then it has failed. If it encouraged the revealing of scraps of Indian history without a conscientious attempt to judge it within its own cultural standards, it has failed. The recognition of the possibility of the abuses of the essential co-operative spirit of such a process are at this moment overwhelming.

However, to continue on a positive note, the following ramifications and general conclusions and recommendations are forwarded.

Ramifications and General Recommendations

For those wishing to experiment with this model with their students, Foxfire magazine presents the best practical example. After five years of publishing the results of student's research, the editor has some very poignant reflections on the educational system and what it's doing to kids and how such projects as Foxfire might fit it.

> The purpose of our schools must be to help our kids discover who they are, their loves and hates, and the stance they are going to take in the face of the world. It is our responsibility as teachers to put them in situations where this testing can go on; to create for them memorable experiences that they will carry with them like talismen and come back to touch a thousand times during the course of their lives. I'm convinced, for example, that a student learns more about himself and life generally in three days spent with an Aunt Arie (one of the elderly informants for Foxfire) (who went no further than the fourth grade) than in four years of high school English. [117]

History should be the most fascinating, vibrant study of all for it concerns people of other times relating to other problems from the same basic human foundation of emotions, intellect and physical composition from which we respond. But too often history is, for most people, the driest, most detested of all disciplines.

This is because we have taken the life out of history. In the past, it is events and dates students are asked to relate to, not human beings. Thus, history which should help prepare students for life by providing a multitude of vicarious experiences leaves a student hating something called "history" without having been brought near the flesh and blood personalities which make up "history." Maybe it's time educators dropped terms such as "history", stopped classifying experiences and

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[117] Eliot Wigginton, ed., Foxfire 2 (New York: Anchor Press, Doubleday, 1973), p. 14.

introduced students to a flow of human responses to events, issues and life generally.

Teachers in Saskatchewan history are in a fortuitious position for Saskatchewan history is still fresh. It can be brought alive. Students can still be made conscious of the pain, through the expressions of those who felt it; can sense the bitterness through the tears of those who knew it; can sense the irony through the laughter of those who are reconciled to it.

The interviewing and recording of personal recollections and reminiscences should be recognized and utilized as an invaluable tool in teaching history. The recorded voice, the flow of the story from someone's lips, can give back the emotional depths which antiseptic textbook writers have sterilized out of written accounts of history.

Putting "Soul" Back Into History

Even marred by inaccuracies, the tapes can tell much in the tone of voice, the openess of approach, the evidence of prejudice and pride that the interviews reveal. Often only by this means can we fill in the gaps in documents and secondary sources that would remain to mock the scholars. "...If nothing more it will add a breath of life to the stacks of static papers."[118] In the words of Richard Allen, "The spoken word expresses feelings which can never be put down on paper."[119]

However, valuable reminiscences are for all history, their

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[118]Forest C. Rogue, "George C. Marshall Oral History Project," Wilson Library Bulletin, (1966), p. 615.

[119]Richard B. Allen, "New Orleans Jazz Archive at Tulune," Wilson Library Bulletin, Vol. 41(1966), p. 621.

legitimacy as historical sources for the Indian past must be at long last acknowledged. Furthermore, their incorporation into local history courses must begin immediately. Likewise, historical content is not the only content which could be collected in this way. All subject areas could be opened to other view points. Math classes could collect the oral tradition of counting systems. Science classes could be broadened by the explanation of the medicinal qualities of plants, the habits of certain animals etc.

There is a need for the stereotypes of the Good Indian, Cruel Savage, Noble Savage and Vanishing Race perpetuated by the traditional approach to be eradicated. The creation of situations where students of all races can appreciate the knowledge and wisdom of the past, alive in Indian communities, can help in dispelling misconceptions.

The spinoffs from such investigative research could be the opening of pathways to cultural co-operation and understanding. Through being exposed to the opposing and complementary stories of different people, students could gain the ability to withhold prejudicial opinions on issues until they have examined the evidence on each side of the dispute. Students will be forced to look at their own values and others' values in the discovery of what makes different points of view.

For those students who become involved in the researching on an Indian reserve, not only will they acquire the research skills but they will be introduced to a closer relationship with the Indian community. The respect and concern shown by these students for the Indian's past will help give the Indian students and adults a sense of pride in their past and an opportunity to feel part of the educational process of all children of the community.

Native people are expressing an urgent concern over the retention of their culture and language. This is a monumental immediate task. It requires a great deal of money and dedication of people working in their local areas all across Canada. But it is critical that steps be taken now. For as Albert Lightning[120] stated in an appeal to the delegates to the NABEC Conference in April, 1975, in Calgary, Indian people have no where to go to regain their language and culture. Ukranians, Englishmen, Frenchmen etc. all can return to their homeland when they need an infusion of their traditional culture but when Ojibway or Haida or Mohawk are lost, they are lost to the world forever.

There is a need for all Canadians to become aware of this delicate balance. In a country purported to be multi-lingual and multicultural, people, particularly in government, should strive to support the native people in their struggle to retain these cultures and languages which are uniquely North American. The interest and involvement of both native and non-native students in local areas may provide some of the initiative, drive and manpower for this awesome endeavour.

Specific Recommendations

The following recommendations are based partly on the findings reported in this study but are also influenced by the experience and interests of the author. It is hoped that these specific recommendations may prove practical.

1. It is recommended that the Provincial Department of Education, through the Native consultant, make available resource personnel

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[120]Opinion expressed by Albert Lightning in an address at North American Bilingual Educational Conference at Calgary, April, 1975.

and grants for implementation of programmes for the collection, use and preservation of oral history materials in areas where the local schools and Indian communities show a desire for such.

2. It is recommended that the Provincial Government make available curriculum time and funds to encourage the use of Indian Elders as resource personnel in areas where the Elders have expertise and feel they have something to say -- i.e. the Indian history, Indian counting system, natural phenomena, moral and ethical questions, legends and countless other spheres.

3. It is recommended that the Indian Cultural College, in co-operation with the Saskatchewan Teachers' Federation, give workshops on the use of the oral history techniques by teachers.

4. It is recommended that the Provincial Government not prescribe any textbook for use in social studies' courses about Saskatchewan which does not include the oral tradition of the Indian and a fair and balanced view of the Indian as judged by the Curriculum Committee.

5. It is recommended that funds be made available for the publication of oral history materials in pamphlet or magazine form by schools engaged in such projects, so that the information may be disseminated throughout the province.

6. It is recommended that the Provincial Government encourage the Indian Cultural College through its Indian Cultural Centre by financial grants and facilities to continue its Elders' workshops and the taping of the Elder's stories.

In conclusion, a young Indian boy has written the following

words:

don't rhyme the words too closely
when you tell our story
leave time and space for us to install
our bit of truth
to add another line or word
each man his own
each nation its paragraph
leave room for us to chant and mourn
and mimic the roll of the buffalo herds
or shake the fish skin rattle
don't rhyme the words too closely.[121]

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[121]Kent Gooderham, ed., Notice: This is an Indian Reserve (Toronto: Griffin House, 1972), p. 40.

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PeeMee, Mary. Cree Elder, daughter-in-law of Big Bear, Summer, 1975, Poundmaker Reserve.

APPENDIX A

(Four Souls, Rocky Boy Montana, May, 1975)

Four Souls

This is an interview conducted at Rocky Boy School. Four Souls was interviewed by Patricia Scott.

PS: Mr. Four Souls I believe we're going to start with your ancestors?

FS: The ancestors as far as I think I know. There was late in the 1700's where this man existed into early 1800's. That's the father of Chief Big Bear, his Indian name is something like Black, Black man.

And he migrated around Saskatchewan, the vicinity of Fort Carlton. Fort Carlton is one of the early Hudson Bay trading post. One of the branch of headquarters of Canadian Government.

I do not know the year this man pasted away. According to the aging history, this Big Bear came in and born around Fort Carlton the year of 1825 and reared in that neighborhood or the vicinity.

It was until quite a while after he became known as a leader, plains Cree.

And from Fort Carlton, Saskatchewan into the south, southern part of Alberta around Fort Walsh, Medicine Hat, westward. There's a place, one Cree Chief was named after, Piapot. That's southwest of what's known as Medicine Hat due north from the Sweet Grass hills. Those Crees were migrated in and out into Montana what is now known as Montana.

And that's where they think they were established. But some how another Piapot, Chief Piapot and band were moved back away from there.

And they were placed a place now some where near Regina, Saskatchewan. Piapot reserve is as known that was set aside for Chief Piapot and his band.

But it came to Chief Big Bear. He migrated back and forth until the Queen started to negotiate, former treaty tried to make treaty with the Cree people for the northwest. And for years Chief Big Bear was reluctant to sign treaty No. 6.

On this I just mentioned about treaty six. Big Bear forsee just like what the white man would call somebody farsighted.

Big Bear knew on treaty six what the Queen had offered an negotiation on treaty six. Big Bear knew and realized that was far from being adequate for what he valued for the northwest. Which is true, I went to Canada several times.

The vast riches that derived from the northwest. The things I've seen what Canadian people the white people, the farms, ranches, cities, industries, that derived from this land. One time belonged to Chief Big Bear that's what he said when the day he got convicted for treason in a court.

When he was asked if he had anything to say before the sentence was passed upon him.

That's one of things he mentioned in there, that the northwest once one time belonged to him. This is what he saw what's now Canadian citizens what they enjoyed. The life they enjoyed the living they enjoyed derived from this land that was belong to Cree people in Dominion Canada.

I have to admire the man it is because he was my grandfather. But I think others including white people admire him now for his far sideness. He did see, he did for see that treaty six. The negotiations

involved was far from adequate.

What he valued for his land, his buffalo, his fish, his game and also the birds. None of those things that I mentioned which is on the land on the northwest. I figured now as I think the number of times in the past as of now that Queen never bought what Queen and her representatives and her people had destroyed what was given to this man from up above to live on when he was created on this earth.

Including United States' Indians was created in this continent of United States of America. Also Dominion of Canada all those things that were on this land. Water, including water, including what they dug up from under everything derived from this land. That one time belonged to the Indian people it was far from adequate.

What this intruder paid for this land after he came here from across the big water when he arrived here he found those Indians that's the first they eyed when they got here is the land, is the opportunities that's why today I'm more than glad to reveal what I think.

Who ever reads or hear this tape I am now making for the schools of Rocky Boy Reservation.

PS: Mr. Four Souls would you tell us something about Little Bear your father he was Big Bear's son is that not right and who was his mother?

FS: It is true that Little Bear his father was Big Bear. And Big Bear had several wives and the mother of Big Bear she was a woman. She was a Chippewa, (?) Chippewa from Wisconsin. Her name was (Cree) I don't know what that means but what I think is possibly or probably that was her childhood nickname.

And I never knew what was her given name, as by any medicine man.

But I'm sure this is not, not the case. I think this is a childhood nickname and raised with it and that's the name she used.

That was Little Bear's mother.

PS: And I believe you said at another time that no one knew where little Bear was born that you know of.

FS: No that I never knew where Little Bear was born but as far as the Canadian he was a classified as one of the renegades or instigator of the Frog Lake Massacre.

PS: Would you care to tell us what was the role of Big Bear in this and what was the role of Little Bear?

FS: The roll of Big Bear on this massacre like he said of the speeches. The speech he made when the judge asked him if he had anything to say before he passed sentence upon him.

That was true history now knows that he done everything in his power what little power he had left in him as an old man. He done everything to prevent, I think this can be verified by most historians, other than Cameron. In his role on this massacre that he's trying, done everything to stop it.

It was young, young hot headed people, what I might term them as (?) that trying to make there, I'm sorry, trying to correct their mistake. The mistake Big Bear for see I mean Big Bear see the mistake they made. He was also trying his every effort to try to stop people from signing treaty six. He knew it was far from adequate, the Queen had offered.

And he tried to hold back for better deal, than what Queen had offered.

Like I said in my speech at Fort Peck, Saskatchewan the time they

unveiled the historical monument. This monument there was two plaques in that monument. The plaque at Fort Pitt, on the other side there was a plaque of Chief Big Bear. That's the historical park they just created 1973.

PS: Is that up at Frog Lake?

FS: That was near Frog Lake I think it's some where from 25 miles east of Frog Lake.

This Fort Pitt is one of the trading posts of Hudson Bay Company.

But like I said Little Bear was young man he was influenced by this what Cameron described Wandering Spirit (Cree) influenced by him to the young people. This is how this got out of hand.

But Big Bear tried his utmost to prevent a blood shed.

PS: Mr. Four Souls would you tell us what happened to Big Bear and Little Bear after the rebellion failed and I believe that was 1885?

FS: When I went up there got invited to participate commemorating Chief Big Bear at Fort Pitt. From there I tracked the trail it took, when they retreated and finally soon there after he appeared at Fort Carlton give himself up. And soon right after they arrested him. And charged him for treason and murder of participating massacre. Because he was a Plains Cree Chief and he got the blame.

And his son this Little Bear he was not using the name Little Bear at that time. His name was Imasees (Cree) this (cree) is I know for sure that was childhood nickname but he carried that with him into his man until that time. And (Cree) fled, left probably came south towards, reach the line international boundary.

And I will stop there and come back to Chief Big Bear.

Chief Big Bear was determined after he gave himself up at Fort Carlton. In charge for this mishap something that he never committed he was charged with treason and got sentenced two years in Stoney Mountain. And at the trial the judge the jury when the jury found him guilty that's when the judge asked him if he had any comments or anything to say before sentence passed upon him.

The way this man described him (?) Big Bear got up he described him as he through his chest down and stand erect look around with his deep voice starting with saying yes I think I have something to say something to say about what brought me into this place in chain. He said "my heart is in the ground. Queen and her representatives knew that I wanted a better deal for my people. I know it was not enough what Queen wanted to pay me for the northwest he went on saying he said the northwest belonged to me one time when I was young and strong. When I wanted something for my people I never ask for it twice. Because I had the power if I had the power today what happened in Frog Lake I would of stopped it. I would of protected the people that payed dearly for this Queen transaction. I tryed to stop my people when they talk about up rising. (?) Gabe Dumont when he talk about this. I didn't want it, he went on saying today I'm in here in chains with my heart in the ground I've tried to stop it but like I said all you good looking people that's sitting around here that look at me. I'm old and ugly as I get old and ugly my power also got old and depleted. And nobody listened to me.

It was young people that lost their heads they don't hear when I say wait that's what brought me in this jail that's what will take to to this place you'll take me and I'm ready to go."

How (Cree) that's what he said and sat down.

And the man that talk about this man Chief Big Bear says no in the past.

It always reminds me just like when a lion roars. That's the way I use to think about him. That's what this one white fellow said about Chief Big Bear.

So after the court decided that Chief Big Bear must serve two years in Stoney Mountain as a hard labor for his part in Frog Lake Massacre. Then that's when they took Big Bear to Stoney Mountain. He went spent two years his hair got cut his clothes were taken off of him put on different kind of clothes that he wasn't use to, got a job feeding pigs. That was quite a blow to the one time great Chief of the Northwest. When he finished his two years when he came out. His people were scattered again he was alone he didn't have a home he didn't have a reserve, that was promised to him when he signed the treaty six.

I think he later signed his treaty six after he knew he stood alone. I think this signing he done was at Fort Walsh.

Seven or eight years later after all the other treaties were signed he was compelled to sign because he was alone. That's what Queen done to him.

And when he came out like I said. He didn't have no place to go no home, no reserve. So he went home nears place one of his minor chiefs. He went to little Pine Reserve soon there after he took sick. When they knew he was sick they wanted to help him but he refused, medication. The great chief of one time soon to die then live, shame brought him down then he refused to live.

That was the end of the greatest chief in Canada.

Now I will start again where I left off on behalf of Little Bear.

Like I said they hit during the day, they travel at night they transferred their children by packing them it must of been pretty hardship on the poor people.

Little Bear left he thought he lost his place in Canada. By losing this incident, Rebellion. Then there was no other thing for him to do but leave. So with his few followers he departed south. Looking for (?) came to the land of Big Knife, that's what the Crees use to call. For fact that's still the name's Indians use on Americans the Big Knife.

So he managed through hardship terrible hardship, he managed to (?) journey the destination was the United States.

This probably hard to believe. One of those nights while he was in Canada, In his dream somebody had told him is the land of Big Knife is the place for you.

He said look who ever it was he dreamed of pointed south this is the place for you. When he looked he saw the Bear Paw Mountains.

And managed through hardship he reached what is now known as Harve Montana. When he reached there one day Commanding Officer of Fort Assinniboine. He visited the Commanding Officer when the man excepted him in his office he walked up to him or shake hand Commanding Officer refused to offer his hand he told him, Commanding Officer said to him Little Bear or (Cree) your hands are still bloody. I can't shake hands with you.

So that winter they didn't have anything to eat.

Again visited the Commanding Officer and asked him for a hand out or he'd be willing to work for what he gets so Commanding Officer con-

tacted the headquarters of the United States Army that Little Bear (cree) is destitute people.

One day got interrupted by the working authorities got contacted by the Queen of England. That she wanted her Indians back. Promising the Queen promised that they would be forgiven every thing would be forgiven. They would get full pardon for their part in Riel Rebellion for their part in Riel Rebellion. How many years between what I'm talking about I don't know several years they roamed in the state of Montana.

Sometimes they gone as far as Billings, Crow Reservation do work for the Indian people over there.

And I think the year of 1894 as near as I can figure that, that's when this thing I mentioned had somebody appropriated somebody for expensive rounding of Canadian Crees. I think that's the year of 1894, some say 1896.

Lieutenant Pershing known as Black Jack Pershing was Supreme Commander of World War I. He's the one that got the job of rounding up Canadian Crees.

PS: He was just a lieutenant then, though wasn't he?

FS: Then after they rounded up they gathered them up in Great Falls, Montana. That's when they obtained box cars to load up their belongings such as horses and wagons.

And one guy refused to go. We got a family here that's related to this man. I can't remember his name but he had a brother here by the name of John Gopher. That man refused to go and he shot himself, before they departed with them.

So they, these people and took them to the Port of Entry, north of Shelby, Couts, Alberta. That's as far as lieutenant Pershing done his work. Turn the Indians over to Canadian authority right there soon Little Bear and his father-in-law Lucky Man soon as they step on Canadian soil there was Northwest Mounted Police waiting for them in there.

Arrested them and took them to Regina and arrested the Indians. Rest of the Crees they took them to Hobbema, Alberta.

There's four reserves in, that's 35 miles west of Edmonton they placed them in there. Today that reserve is still known as Montana Reserve. Because that's where they took these Indians. And Little Bear and Lucky Man they were in jail at Regina waiting trial. They were charged participating in helping murder of Thomas Truman Quinn, Indian agent also known as farm instructor.

PS: This was a Frog Lake right?

FS: This was at Frog Lake that's where the massacre took place that's where they killed Thomas Truman Quinn.

Truman Quinn married that time to a Cree woman. That Cree woman also got one son here at the Rocky Boy Reservation today. Lot of grandchildren this woman apparently had lived with three different white men. There's three sets of families here this woman I'm talking about Mrs. Quinn. She has lot of grandchildren in here. One son got named after his father. His name is Parker there name is Parker. The man that lived today is Mr. Frank Billy. The other one had gone past away. That man had a name of James Arkinson.

This is the woman that they subpeona the day they tried Little Bear and Lucky Man.

There's were the stories contradict, the history the Canadian history to me.

The history says she was the only living witness eye witness when Mr. Quinn was murdered.

Mr. Quinn would not be killed if he wasn't stubborn. If he wasn't stubborn because Wandering Spirit (cree) had asked before the shooting starts.

Wandering Spirit told them. Thomas Truman Quinn's Indian name was Sioux Speaker. That was his Cree name because apparently Truman Quinn had talked fluently Sioux language. That's how come Cree's use to call him Sioux Speaker.

Before the shooting took place Wandering Spirit asked Mr. Quinn (Cree) that's what Wandering Spirit told Quinn. This what Wandering Spirit told him in Cree he told Sioux Speaker you are married to a Cree woman go to Indian camp, go to your wife nobody will bother you.

Mr. Quinn told Wandering Spirit no.

Alright Wandering Spirit told him I will ask you four times. At the fourth time if you say no I'm going to kill you. Alright Sioux Speaker go to Indian campt go to your wife nobody will bother you.

Quinn says no.

Again Sioux Speaker are you going to go to Indian camp so nobody will bother you?

Quinn says no.

Wandering Spirit said I'm going to kill you, you got two more. Alright I'm asking you Sioux Speaker go to your wife at Indian camp nobody will bother you.

Quinn again said no.

Alright you got one more Sioux Speaker I'm going to kill you then I'm sorry Wandering Spirit cocked up his muzzle loader or 44. Sioux Speaker are you going to go over there.

Quinn says no.

That's when Wandering Spirit shot him and killed him.

That's how Thomas Truman Quinn died in hands of Wandering Spirit.

Then I will go back to this what I have started (indefinite ending)

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This short history is written by Mr. Four Souls, son of Chief Little Bear, Grandson of Chief Big Bear.

I was born in the vicinity of Pryor, Montana, which is on the Crow Reservation, twenty-five miles south of Billings, Montana.

In the year of 1906 I attended the first day school at Rocky Boy School. In 1916 I quit school. In 1921 I was in the fourth grade at the age of 16. This history is the way I heard it:

Chief Big Bear's father's name is Black or Blackman. That is all I know about this man.

Chief Big Bear was born about the year 1825 in the vicinity of Fort Carlton, Saskatchewan. This is in Canada. This is according to Canadian history. But this is a guess, too. Nobody knows for sure.

Chief Big Bear wasn't known until he first visited the Fort Pitt Trading Post in the year of 18( ). But where was he before? There is no evidence of where he was born.

In about the year 1876 the Canadian Government started to negoti-

ate a treaty with the Indians for their land. This is Treaty VI. Chief Big Bear said no to the Queen's offer of five dollars per capita; twenty-five dollars per year to each chief; fifteen dollars per year to each councilor. Big Bear knew this was not enough. He held back for a better deal for his people. Finally, the Queen found a way to beat him, by going around him, to the minor chiefs. Sure enough the minor chiefs all began to sigh Treaty VI.

Big Bear then left the area and came south as far as Fort Benton area to the east in the vicinity of Malta, Montana.

There was a place where they used to cross the Missouri River. This is one of the historic points for the Cree people. Another place is due west from the Cree crossing where the Musselshell River empties into the Missouri River. This where the Crees used to trade.

Big Bear drifted back into Canadian soil around the Medicine Hat area to Canadian military post Fort Walsh.

When he got back to his people, more of his people had signed the treaty. In the end he stood alone.

By this time he began to realize that his power had begun to wane, his was practically gone. At last he gave up. He realized there was nothing else he could do but sign the Treaty VI. This was about the year of 1882 or 1884. He never had a chance to get his people together, so he could not get a Reservation set aside for him.

By this time Indians began to realize that they had made a mistake by accepting the terms of Treaty VI.

In the summer of 1884 young hot-headed warriors began to hold meetings to instigate an uprising which would be led by Wandering Spirit, and it went on like this into the winter of 1884.

The farm instructor, Thomas Quinn's actions to ward off the Indians didn't help the matter any.

Chief Big Bear didn't approve of the action his people were going to take. He said, "It is too late, we have no chance. This is what I foresaw when I refused the Queen's offer, but my children you didn't listen to me." He said, "Let's fight the Queen with her law, not with the guns. This way we might have a chance."

Then the old chief lost again.

Early in March, 1885, some young braves invaded the government headquarters in the Frog Lake Agency. They raided trading post and the ration house. They helped themselves to everything.

Wandering Spirit went to T. T. Quinn, the Farm Instructor, and told him, "Sioux Speaker, go to the Indian camp. You married an Indian woman, if you go to the Indian camp nobody will bother you."

Quinn said, "No!"

Wandering Spirit told him, "I will ask you four times. The fourth time I ask you if you say no, I will kill you!"

Sure enough the fourth time, Quinn said, "I told you no!" Then Wandering Spirit shot and killed Thomas Truman Quinn.

By this time Big Bear came running and shouting, saying, "chessqua, chessqua," which means "wait, wait." But it was too late.

The Indians captured two white women; one boy, whose name was William Cameron, who was fourteen years old at the time, and two or three whitemen.

The Farm Instructor, Thomas Quinn, was married to an Indian woman, who was the mother of Frank Billy. I never heard what her name was.

The Indian camp was moved toward the east to Fort Pitt but camped twenty-five miles away. Then they raided the Fort Pitt trading post. The Indians didn't kill any people. They let all the white people go free. After they took what they wanted from the trading post they set fire to it. They then moved north. They held a Sun Dance somewhere after. This all took several months.

The Canadian cavalry caught up with them in Frenchman's Butte and there was a big battle there. The fight did not last long, they gave up. Soon after Big Bear gave himself up.

Big Bear was arrested. He was charged with treason. He was convicted and sentenced to two years in the Stoney Mountain Prison. When he was released he didn't have any place to go. He went to the Little Pine Reservation. Not long after he got sick. He refused medication. He didn't have anything to live for. Soon after the old chief died quietly. The shame killed him.

This was the end of a great leader of the Plains Cree. His band had already scattered. Some of them came south to Montana under Ameses.

Big Bear had four sons. There names were Twin Wolverine, King Bird, Horse Child who was the youngest son, and Ameses. Ameses lated adopted the name Little Bear.

Ameses and his bunch reached Havre, Montana, and started to look for work here and there. One day Ameses or Little Bear visited Fort Assiniboine Military post to seek some kind of help for his people. The commander of the post promised him he would write a letter on his behalf.

The the War Department agreed to give contracts to cut wood for the Fort Assiniboine Military Post.

Chief Little Bear became acquainted with Black Jack Pershing, who

was Supreme Commander of the United States army during World War I. Shortly thereafter Chief Little Bear started to look around for help so he could establish a home for his band of Crees.

But Chief Rocky Boy had already started looking for a home for his Chippewa people.

By this time the Queen of Canada sent a request that she wanted her Indians back, promising that if Chief Little Bear came back home they would get a full pardon for their part in the "Riel Rebellion" in 1896. Black Jack Pershing proceeded to round up Chief Little Bear and his band of Crees. He took them to Great Falls and loaded them and their belongings, such as wagon horses. He delivered them to the international port of entry of Choutts, Alberta. As soon as Chief Little Bear and Lucky Man stepped off, the Northwest Mounted Police arrested them and charged them with the murder of Thomas Truman Quinn. The rest of the Crees were taken to a Reservation at Hobbema, known as Montana.

Before they loaded the Indians in Great Falls, one man killed himself. This man was a brother to old John Gopher.

They took Little Bear and Lucky Man to Regina and put them in jail. They were kept there until Mrs. Quinn was brought from Fort McLeod. They brought her to Regina on the day of the trial to be a witness against Little Bear and Lucky Man. Mrs. Quinn was brought into the Court Room to identify the two men, Little Bear and Lucky Man. The prosecutor asked Mrs. Quinn if these two men helped or took part the day her husband and others were killed in the Frog Lake Massacre. She looked at the two men for a long time. Finally she said, "No, I don't remember seeing them."

Mrs. Quinn was a Cree woman. Mrs. Quinn lived with the farm

instructor, Thomas Truman Quinn, at the time he was killed. Mrs. Quinn had one little girl from Thomas Truman Quinn. Mrs. Quinn had a brother. His name was Baptists Sammatt. She had three boys: John Parker, Frank Billy or Billie, and James Arkinson.

After the trial at Regina, Little Bear and Lucky Man went home to Hobbema Reservation, known as Montana. I do not know how long they stayed there but decided that Canada was not for them.

He left and came to Montana and resumed the idea of getting a home for his band. Finally, he got some people interested such as Congressman Frank B. Linderman; William Bole; O. S. Wardin, Publisher and Founder of the Great Falls Tribune; Theodore Gibson, son of Paris Gibson, the founder of Great Falls, Montana and a number of leading people in various localities, but not Havre. For fact, I have a Resolution passed by the City Council and County Commissioners opposing the Canadian Crees being placed in the Bear Paw Mountains old abandoned Military Reservation.

Then the fight was on. Frank Linderman made a special trip to Washington on behalf of the Indian people to arrange for the Secretary of the Interior, Franklin K. Lane, to come to Montana and see for himself the conditions of the destitute Indians. Frank Linderman arranged a meeting between the Secretary of the Interior and the two chiefs, Little Bear and Rocky Boy. When they sent for Chief Rocky Boy to meet with the Great White Father, Chief Rocky Boy refused to come. I still have the picture that was taken at the time. Chief Little Bear met with the Secretary of the Interior.

I don't know what year or what the name of the show was. Some say it was the Wild West Show that Chief Little Bear and his band took

part in. A picture is available of the group of Crees that were in the show. Their part in the show was to have a Sham Battle and do Indian Dancing. They also took part in the parade. They sold some beadwork and polished horns mounted on boards covered with broad cloth or velvet with beads on it. I don't know how long they were gone. This show stopped at every major city and it went on until they started to notice a few new people in their company so they proceeded to investigate what was going on. Finally, they found out that they had been sold out. Then they refused to go any further. The new manager-owner tried to force them to go, still they refused to go. Somewhere, somehow the United States Army got involved, they took over on the Indians and had them put on dances to collect money to come home on. Some sold their horses or whatever they could sell and the commanding officer made a plea for them for donations. Finally, they had enough money to come home on. That is how they got back to Havre, Montana.

Some say the place was Cincinnati, Ohio, others say it was Fort Thomas, Kentucky. Until this day, no one knows for sure.

This shows that they were willing to do anything for a living. They got the short end of the stick again.

They were still looking and seeking employment, anything to make a dollar. They even went so far as to collect old buffalo bones for a man who had a general store in Box Elder, Montana. A man by the name of David Cowan, who they used to call "Bones Chief." This man bought many tons of bones, also rubber dead sheep to salvage the wool.

Later on, in the summer of 1914, the Crees held a Sun Dance in Great Falls. They remained there that summer. In November of 1914 they

got word that they could move to the Bear Paws' Mountains. They arrived at about four miles below the present Rocky Boy Agency, where Box Elder Creek and Wolf Creek come together. This was the first winter that they spent on Rocky Boy Reservation.

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Too bad that I cannot give accurate history because I wasn't big enough to really know all the activities, the years, that it took them this long to get established. And I'll go back in the trials of those seven people that were hanged.

Wandering Spirit, they said, the history, according to W. B. Cameron who wrote the book somewhere around 1925 (about) this rebellion. W. B. Cameron was fourteen years old when that took place but he was one of the white people that were captured. Lot of that book as far as I'm concerned is not true, according to the Indian history what took place in that Rebellion. I'm pretty sure a child of fourteen years old couldn't remember. The book that he called War Trail of Big Bear, later this book they revised it, and the book now is the name of Blood Red the Sun. On that book the interesting part of it to me is Mr. Cameron must have talked fluently Cree. And the history when they convicted those seven people.

Wandering Spirit, as they described him as a War Chief, he wasn't a chief at all, he was just a brave man, a mad man. Because he tried to correct the mistake the Cree people made against their leader Chief Big Bear, this probably wouldn't have happened if they had listened to Chief Big Bear, they probably would have got better terms. Apparently Wandering Spirit was a pretty brave man. When they got him up there on the gallow,

they were asked if they had anything to say before they tripped the trap. Like I said, when they asked him if he had anything to say he said, "yes, I should have something to say." That's when he sang the song I'd call, or white people might call it a farewell song. Then he sang a song.

ThenI'll go back to the trial of Big Bear. When they tried Big Bear and when he got convicted, the judge asked Big Bear if he had anything to say before he pronounced sentence upon him. Big Bear said, "yes I should have something to say." The man wrote down what he said, and said of Big Bear that he was a smart man and if he was trained to be a lawyer he would be a brilliant lawyer because he had the gift of making speech. So Big Bear said, when they asked him if he had anything to say before they passed sentence, he said, "yes, I should have something to say. In this room as I look around I see pretty faces, good looking people that I have admired. The evidence has shown that I have admired (respected) the Queen's representatives, I have tried to get along with them since we went this far to take Queen's money, to take Queen's food, to try to take and to learn his way of making a living.

I know the buffalo has gone and (I am) destitute. I have nothing to eat, I have to accept (the) agreement that (the) queen gave me to try to teach my people to make a living the white man's way." He went on saying, "one time the northwest belonged to me. Today I'm sitting here (and) I'm old and ugly. The Queen's representative that I would have protected, which I did try to protect him." Then he said, "When I was young and strong I never said anything twice. I never feared anybody, I was a man. Today I'm old and ugly. Today I'm shamed that I'm sitting here enchained, that I have to go to prison for which something that I

never approved. If I had my way, if I had the power to stop this, this is what I was afraid of. I know the queen's offer for my land wasn't adequate. I know, I forsee this was going to happen when it happened what brought me in this place in chains. And, I am ready to take the punishment you're about to give me. That's all."

And that's the speech he made, Chief Big Bear. I think Chief Big Bear was smart, far sighted. And Chief Little Bear was also gifted in speech, and had a personality. And after we got this place he used to preach to us, the family. The preaching that he was giving us, advice that he gave us, that's what I'm trying to do.

APPENDIX B

(Mrs. Mary PeeMee, Poundmaker, Summer, 1975)

It is a very long story with many things that caused what happened. It goes back many years. It has many meanings. The people were still living in the old ways and believing in the old life. But many things were changing. For hundreds of years the Hudson Bay had encouraged the fur trade. But then others were coming and they were not all bad. My people were still not Christians but many years later we were Roman Catholic. The priests came and they meant well. Others came to take the land and some of our people gave them the land. But Big Bear did not want to give the land away. Big Bear knew more and more white people were coming. He knew it was useless to fight but the people were poor. They were hungry. The agencies had taken away the horses and guns for they were afraid the men would fight. The game was scarce. There were only a few rabbits and little animals. The people were dying from the sicknesses of the white man. Without buffalo skins or hides, we didn't have warm clothes for the long hard winters. We couldn't afford to buy the white man's clothes.

Big Bear was loved by all his people and he was a great man. He was very wise and he could see far into the future. He was gentle and it was not his fault that he went to prison.

Remember I told you that my people were very poor and sick. The young men were angry. Big Bear was the leader. He was responsible for his people but his warriors did not want to listen when he said not to fight. Big Bear was bitter too but he knew that to fight was useless. He knew the government would win. More and more white people would come. Already there were many. He was responsible for all the people. As chief he was responsible for all the people that were sick and dying. He could not help it. He kept moving to follow the game but the buffalo

were gone. Then the warriors heard of the half-breed uprising at Batoche. The men held council. They wanted to fight. Big Bear talked in the council against the fighting. He talked until he could talk no more. The warriors said they would fight. Big Bear had to lead his people to war for he was chief and he was responsible for what his people did. Big Bear could not stop the fighting at Frog Lake. This is what Horse Child told me.

Big Bear went to prison you know. He didn't have to. He could have escaped. The jails and the handcuffs couldn't hold him. His warriors told him to go but he said, "No, I am your Chief." Because I chose to lead you in war. I am responsible for what happens to you.

APPENDIX C

(Mr. Francis Harper, Onion Lake, September, 1975)

From what I know, from what I have heard, this is what I am going to talk about. I won't be able to repeat or tell the events to the same extent as I was told. For example, it started at North Battleford and South Battleford, that is the place it started. Riel was his name, a half breed. He was the one who started this event because of his dissatisfaction and concern over the treatment of native people, and this is how the events started according to the old men (elders) of the past.

Soon after they came here (Fort Pitt they called it, or it was known as the Little House, where a store was also present). I don't know what type of store it was, maybe Hudson's Bay. The news was brought there (Fort Pitt), and then the Indians arrived from surrounding areas (for example, Red Pheasant, Little Pine and Cutknife). Cutknife was where trouble had first started. Then soon after it come to pass that trouble occurred here. For example, Indians started to break things when they didn't receive food, they broke into the store forcefully and helped themselves to the food. From there they went to Frog Lake. The exact number I don't know. When they arrived, Quinn was the Indian agent. When they asked for food, he told them "I cannot supply you with food because I don't have any supplies here at the moment." The Indians were angered. Then from there it started. Anyway I cannot remember his Cree name (Quinn). From there the events started. The Indians were angry. They said trouble has already started. They have already started a skirmish (war). People have started trouble at Mamik. So they, the Indians at Frog Lake, felt that they should.

So then they said they would ask at the church for food. The priest did not have anything. So they killed the priest, and then they called for the Indian agent and asked him to come out. Also present was

a person whom they called Cameron (forgot Cree name for Cameron). They took this person and then they took him prisoner. This person wrote lies or half truths about the accounts of events of Frog Lake. William Cameron was his name; he was taken prisoner. He was kept in a tent and as a result did not see the events that unfolded outside. He only heard what was happening. He was afraid to look out because he was guarded so did not venture out of the tent.

Anyway, however, they called Quinn. When we came to you for bacon you refused to help, when we asked for flour you wouldn't give us any, when we asked for tea you wouldn't give us any. Also you wouldn't give us any tobacco. So now for the last time, look at the sun. They (the Indians) told Quinn. Anyway, I have no idea who actually killed Quinn. From there they broke into the agent's warehouse and helped themselves to the food. They also went to the church and helped themselves to various things they could use. They also spilt flour that was left over because they felt they had enough.

At the time of the first Treaty day, they, the whitemen who were sent over by Queen Victoria, promised the Indians food. These whitemen told the Indians that she, Queen Victoria, wanted their land, and that she wanted only the first 1 foot of the surface, below this you could keep. For this I will promise you food, cattle, tools and the wild animals of this country are yours to hunt as you please. These things (animals) I do not want.

This is the reason the Indians revolted at Frog Lake as they weren't given food as promised. So they left for Fort Pitt and a fight also started there. They killed a red coat from the fort who had accompanied several red coats to investigate the Frog Lake incident, as they

were returning. They also killed one at the fort. No one really knows who killed the red coat because several of the Indians fired at them.

After this incident they left for Onion Lake and left ( ) and took a man, another agent, as prisoner (moysh kiyas). They made him ride an oxen, along with his wife and kids and then they all fled for Loon Lake. They stopped at Frenchman's Butte and had a "thirst dance" (Sundance) there.

At that time the red coats had gotten ready and started the search for the Indians. The Mounties found the Indians at Frenchman's Butte and shot at the Indians while they were dancing. They killed an Indian with a big gun (cannon). A gun that shoot shells that blew up on impact. The Indian's leg was shattered or blown off by the explosion, and he died soon after.

From there they fled towards Loon Lake, travelling by (translated means little colt lake) and then arrived at Loon Lake. Not long after they arrived they fought with the red coats again at what is now known as Steel Narrows.

I will tell now the events as my uncle had told me. Benjamin he was taken by the red coats as a scout. He was one of the scouts sent to tell the Indians to surrender. It took a long time to persuade the Indians to surrender. The scouts had to sleep overnight. My father and my uncle were present. Francis Deframe was one of the scouts. The Indians finally agreed to surrender. From there they were taken back. The agent from Onion Lake was brought back along with his family. Then the Indians were gathered up and taken prisoner. Big Bear was also taken prisoner because of his involvement. They had trials every day for a long time here at Fort Pitt. Most of them were sentenced to five years in

prison but I don't know the exact number that were put in prison. Lots of Indians left secretly from Fort Pitt and left for the U.S.A. So lots of these people originally from here were forced to stay in the U.S.A. because of their involvement in the uprising. Even to this day there are a lot of people who are our relatives who are in the U.S.A.

This story or event I am talking about was told to me and I am telling it as best I can the events that had happened. And not all the blame should be placed on the Indians in regards to the past. It was the agents who broke the promises or treaties by refusing to help the Indians, which resulted in trouble. It was also the result of what had happened at the Battlefords just previous to the Frog Lake Incident. Riel was the one who started the unrest and from there things started to unfold. They fought at Poundmaker. Then the incident at Frog Lake and Fort Pitt took place. That is all I can tell for that is all I know. My uncle told me while they were at Loon Lake they were instructed by the red coats not to tell of the events that had happened. If they told of the events they would be punished. So as a result they were afraid to speak of the events that took place at Loon Lake. He told me lots of police were killed and that they buried rifles in the muskeg. And I have not been able to go and see or find where these rifles were buried.

Thank you.